

## U.S. to Send Arms, Equipment For Use by Costa Rican Forces

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

SAN JOSE, Costa Rica — The United States announced Friday that it is sending military equipment to bolster Costa Rica's tiny defense force, which clashed with Nicaraguan soldiers at Pemas Blancas, a border village near the Pacific coast.

No one was reported injured in Thursday's fighting, the latest of at least a dozen clashes between the Nicaraguan Army and the Costa Rican Civil Guard in the past two years.

The clashes have been spurred by border-area fighting between Costa Rica-based Nicaraguan rebels and troops of Nicaragua's Sandinist government.

In San Jose, U.S. Ambassador Curtis Winsor Jr. met with President Luis Alberto Monge and said later that the United States would speed delivery of jeeps, trucks, patrol boats, two helicopters and light weapons and ammunition to Costa Rica.

"The United States is ready to help Costa Rica with whatever it needs," Mr. Winsor said. "If Costa Rica were to need something extraordinary in the event of an invasion, the United States will be ready to cooperate."

He added, however, that the United States is opposed to Costa Rica's developing an army, which it abolished in 1948.

U.S. military assistance to Costa Rica last year totaled \$2 million and is projected to reach \$10 million this year. A U.S. State Department spokesman said that no decision has been made on emergency assistance, but that aid already in the pipeline would be accelerated.

Another pledge of assistance came from Foreign Minister Edgardo Paz Bannier of Honduras. Mr. Paz Bannier said that Costa Rica "can rely on the firm, energetic



He called the incident a "mock attack" by the Costa Rican rural guard, adding "no fragments from shells landed inside Nicaragua."

John Hughes, the U.S. State Department spokesman, described Nicaraguan assertions that the Costa Ricans had fabricated the incident as "clearly nonsense" and "ridiculous."

"We feel Costa Rica's concerns about continuing incidents of Nicaraguans firing across the border at Costa Rica are entirely justified," Mr. Hughes said.

The Costa Rican foreign minister, Carlos Jose Gutierrez, sent a protest note to Nicaragua saying that an air raid Sunday on the frontier village of San Isidro Pococil had brought their diplomatic relations "to their lowest point."

"This premeditated air attack is the most serious incident in the past two years," his note said, "bringing relations between our two countries to their lowest point."

Two Nicaraguan air force planes, Mr. Gutierrez said, crossed the border and fired more than 50 rockets, "causing panic among the 54 inhabitants of this village less than two miles from the border." No injuries were reported.

The planes, the note said, apparently were pursuing Costa Rican-based rebels from the Revolutionary Democratic Alliance, led by the former Sandinist hero Eden Pastora Gomez.

Costa Rica has said that with no army, it cannot control rebel activity, especially in remote, heavily forested areas.

Nicaraguan rebels based in Costa Rica overran Pemas Blancas late last year, forcing the Sandinists to leave their customs facilities from the crossing, and machine-gun fire on the Costa Rican side of the border.

(AP, UPI, NYT)



A PAPAL BLESSING — Pope John Paul II greeted leprosy patients Friday at a hospital on Sorokdo Island during the second day of his visit to South Korea. Earlier in Kwangju, he called on South Koreans to accept the duty of reconciliation. Page 2.

## Hu Begins North Korean Visit

The Associated Press

TOKYO — The leader of the Chinese Communist Party, Hu Yaobang, arrived in Pyongyang Friday to a rousing welcome from North Korea's leadership and 500,000 people who lined the route of his motorcade.

North Korea's Central News Agency reported that President Kim Il Sung and his son and heir apparent, Kim Jong Il, were on hand to greet Mr. Hu when he arrived by train from Beijing.

Mr. Hu's trip to Pyongyang is his first since his appointment as general secretary of the Communist Party of China in 1982.

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critical juncture with Mr. Kim himself preparing for his first trip to Moscow in 1979.

China and the United States already have joined efforts to defuse tensions on the divided Korean Peninsula. The cooperative venture reportedly was strengthened during President Ronald Reagan's meetings with Chinese leaders last week.

Following Mr. Reagan's visit to Beijing, Secretary of State George P. Shultz went to Seoul to brief South Korean leaders on the talks.

The diplomats said Mr. Hu's trip to Pyongyang underlines Beijing's pivotal role in pacifying the region.

In January, Mr. Kim acceded under Chinese pressure to propose tripartite reunification talks with Seoul and Washington.

Although Seoul has rejected the offer, Beijing considered Mr. Kim's peace overture a healthy sign and now fears that his Moscow visit will result in new Soviet military assistance, refueling his goal to conquer the South.

Mr. Kim, 72, is expected to seek large amounts of Soviet economic and military assistance, as well as Moscow's blessing for his son, who is 42, to succeed him as president.

Diplomats said that China is now convinced of the need for at least limited contacts with Seoul and that it is less likely to accommodate Mr. Kim on the issue of relations with the South than it was in the past.

Diplomats said Beijing has urged Mr. Kim to open Pyongyang's door to the West, as China has done, to help modernize the nation. At the same time, normalized ties with Washington could only help reunify Korea, goes the Chinese argument.

In Beijing's view, Seoul's economy is booming at such a rate that it will be able to modernize its military much faster than will Pyongyang, giving it a military advantage by the end of the decade.

That prospect leaves Mr. Kim a choice of turning to Moscow for large-scale military assistance and striking militarily now, or pursuing a strategy of peaceful negotiations and easing relations with the West.

China, which chose the last course for itself in approaching the Taiwan reunification question, recommends the same for its ally.

## Metahookers In Stuttgart Vote to Strike

STUTTGART — Workers in a major industrial area around Stuttgart have voted to strike to support their demands for a 35-hour work week, a union spokesman said Friday.

He said a vote by the union, IG Metall, in the North Baden-North Württemberg region drew more than 75 percent of the support necessary for the union to press ahead with strikes.

The area includes such prestigious automakers as Daimler-Benz and Porsche and the Bosch electrical plant.

Officials of IG Metall said earlier that the ballot would also decide whether the union would hold similar strike votes in other areas, including the industrial Ruhr.

Union leaders have said a strike could begin late next week. Employers have threatened to retaliate with lockouts.

The union, backed by print workers, is leading the campaign for a five-hour reduction in the workweek to 35 hours without loss of pay as a way of cutting unemployment.

Minister Norbert Blum repeated Friday that a strike would jeopardize recovery in the economy, which is officially predicted to grow by 3 percent this year after a 1.3 percent increase in 1982.

Mr. Blum's warning coincided with latest unemployment figures, which showed a drop of 140,000 in April to 2.25 million or 9.1 percent of the work force.

The Confederation of German Employers Association made a last minute appeal against a strike and accused unions of turning the campaign into a power struggle aimed at changing the existing economic and social order.

Employers say that every hourly worker would increase industry's costs by 26 billion Deutsche marks (\$7.4 billion) a year and run its international competitiveness. They support an alternative government-backed plan for earlier retirement.

North Baden-North Württemberg has the lowest unemployment in the country, 5.6 percent, and is usually one of the union's most militant areas.

The last major industrial unrest was in 1978, when IG Metall fought and lost a six-week strike in the steel industry over demands for a gradual introduction of the 35-hour week.

The printers union, IG Druck and Papier, campaigning on the same issue, ordered token strikes, which left most of the country without newspapers Thursday.

Only two publishers were affected Friday, however, and employers said that union instructions to work only seven hours a day was having little effect.

Reports on Thursday that an agreement had been reached without reference to the 35-hour work week pushed the dollar below 2.70 DM in New York, where traders apparently confused the news with a settlement in the metal industry.

## Soviet Says U.S. Plotted To Exploit Sakharovs

The Associated Press

MOSCOW — The Tass news agency on Friday accused the U.S. Embassy in Moscow of plotting to use Andrei D. Sakharov, the Nobel laureate, and his wife in "vicious anti-Soviet campaigns."

Tass charged that U.S. diplomats planned to give shelter to Mr. Sakharov's wife, Yelena Bonner, while her husband began a hunger strike and Mrs. Bonner issued statements to the West with the goal of winning her exit from the Soviet Union.

A U.S. Embassy spokesman who requested anonymity issued the following statement in reaction to the Tass report:

"The Tass allegations against members of the embassy staff are wholly unfounded. No discussion of embassy activities has taken place with Mrs. Bonner. The embassy maintains contact with her as the only means of keeping informed of the welfare of Andrei Sakharov, a Nobel Peace Prize winner whose late is a matter of legitimate concern to the entire international community."

Tass said the alleged plot was uncovered by "competent Soviet organs," presumably the KGB secret police.

The agency said the Soviet government had protested what it called "impermissible actions" by U.S. diplomats, and issued a warning to "the organizers of all kinds of intrigues and other diversions against the country of the Soviets."

Tass made no mention of any further action against Mr. Sakharov, who has been exiled to the desolate city of Gorki since January 1980, of his wife, who divides her time between Gorki and Moscow.

In a lengthy commentary that leveled harsh criticism at the couple, Tass said the Soviet government has been showing "kindness and patience" toward the 1975 Nobel Peace Prize winner.

Mr. Sakharov was sent to Gorki after becoming a leader of the Soviet human rights movement in the 1970s. From his exile, he has continued to speak out against the nuclear arms race and against what he considers to be human rights abuses in the Soviet Union. Mr. Sakharov and Mrs. Bonner went on an 18-day hunger strike in December 1981.

Tass on Friday accused three U.S. diplomats of sending material abroad for the Sakharovs. It named them as Jon Purnell, Ed McWilliams and George Glass. All are listed on the roster of the U.S. Embassy staff.

"It has been long known that each time reactionary circles in the West want to complicate the international situation and distract public attention from their own dangerous plans and actions, they resort to mounting mean and vicious anti-Soviet campaigns," it said.

"Our foes have assigned a special place in these sordid gambits to the notorious anti-Soviet Sakharov, whose anti-civic conduct has long been condemned by the Soviet people," Tass said.

"It became known recently to competent Soviet agencies that a far-reaching operation had been masterminded with the involvement of American diplomats, in accordance with whose thoroughly detailed scenario Sakharov was to call another 'hunger strike' with Bonner in the meantime getting 'asylum' in the U.S. Embassy in Moscow," Tass said.

"The plan provided for exploiting Bonner's stay in the U.S. Embassy to organize meetings with foreign correspondents and send abroad mendacious allegations about the Soviet Union," it said.

These coordinated actions were to serve as a signal for the beginning in the West and primarily in the United States of an anti-Soviet campaign, Tass continued. "At the same time it was intended to attempt under a false pretext — health conditions — to organize Mrs. Bonner's exit to the West where she was to become a leader of anti-Soviet outcasts who work for Western special services."



Andrei D. Sakharov

## Indonesia's Strict Regime Fosters Self-Censorship

By Robert Trumbull

New York Times Service

JAKARTA — A sales clerk chatting with a customer complained about Indonesia's press censorship and other authoritarian measures of the government of President Suharto, who has ruled for 17 years.

Later she followed the departing customer to the sidewalk and asked that she not be quoted by name. "I could lose my job," she said.

"People don't dare to speak out," said a lawyer, who also requested that his name not be used.

Such reticence on the part of most Indonesians encountered by a foreign visitor is in contrast with the relative freedom of expression in the nearby Philippines, where opposition to the similar governing style of President Ferdinand E. Marcos is openly fierce these days.

Here, the lawyer said, he did not think "there is any opposition." He said that the government controlled the bureaucracy and labor unions and that the students, who once were active, had been tamed by the threat of expulsion from their schools for participation in anti-government activity.

The price of speaking out can be high. Several years ago 50 retired senior military officers sent President Suharto a letter suggesting that the time had come to liberalize Indonesia's tightly controlled political system.

Politically aware Indonesians chafe at the shadowy role allowed the electorate in choosing the 360-member House of Representatives, which is dominated overwhelmingly by Golkar, Mr. Suharto's party.

One hundred members are appointed by the president. Critics charge that the candidates of the two small opposition parties are also picked by the government.

A few distinguished Indonesians like Adam Malik, the longtime diplomat and former vice president, are allowed to air critical views without fear of official reprisal.

Harsh measures taken against them would attract international attention and could be expected to diminish the government's reputation in the dozen or so Western

## Duarte Effort In El Salvador Is Aided by U.S.

By Robert J. McCarney

Washington Post Service

SAN SALVADOR — As official campaigning ended for Sunday's presidential election, there were strong indications that U.S. government funds and diplomatic pressure have been used to assist the prospects of Jose Napoleon Duarte, the Christian Democratic candidate.

A significant increase in the past month in official U.S. involvement in organizing the voting has led Mr. Duarte's far-right opponents in the Nationalist Republican Alliance to assert that Washington is trying to engineer a fraud.

There is virtually no evidence to support the accusation, but it appears likely to play a major role in rightist efforts after the election to discredit the vote, if Mr. Duarte wins as expected.

Senator Jesse Helms of North Carolina urged in a letter to President Ronald Reagan this week that Thomas R. Pickering, the U.S. ambassador to El Salvador, be recalled for alleged interference in the election on behalf of Mr. Duarte.

The White House, the State Department and congressional leaders of both parties have defended Mr. Pickering. Larry M. Speakes, the president's spokesman, said Thursday that Mr. Reagan had "full confidence" in his envoy and that the United States was not taking sides in the election.

While the United States has officially proclaimed its neutrality in the voting, Mr. Duarte — who is considered a moderate — is clearly Washington's favorite. Evidence shows he has benefited from U.S. government involvement in the following ways:

He has received critical campaign support from the nation's largest labor union, the Salvadoran Communist Union, which receives the majority of its operating funds from the U.S. Agency for International Development. Two-thirds of the peasant union's 600 grass-roots organizers, in violation of Salvadoran law, have worked full-time in the past month going door-to-door to encourage peasants to vote for Mr. Duarte, the union's secretary.

general, Samuel Maldonado, said Thursday.

The Central Intelligence Agency has supplied funds covertly to a publicity agency, the Venezuelan Institute for Popular Education, that has done campaign work for Mr. Duarte without charge, according to a knowledgeable source who has proved to be reliable in the past. The agency, known by its Spanish abbreviation IVEPO, has produced television and radio advertisements for Mr. Duarte and has made available to him the results of its opinion polls. IVEPO officials said.

The source said that the CIA was "laundering" the money by giving it first to a West German Christian Democratic foundation. The foundation, the Konrad Adenauer Foundation, has close relations with IVEPO's principal fund-raiser, but the foundation denied giving money to the Venezuelan agency.

Since November, the U.S. government has twice denied visas to Roberto d'Aubuisson, the Nationalist Republican Alliance's candidate, in actions that Salvadoran politicians have described as a significant blow to his presidential hopes.

The first visa denial in November led to an effort in February by some of the nation's wealthiest businessmen to try to replace Mr. d'Aubuisson as the candidate, diplomats said.

The U.S. government opposes the former army major because of persistent reports by U.S. officials and Salvadoran sources linking him to the rightist death squads that have taken thousands of lives in El Salvador since 1979. The Reagan administration fears that, if Mr. d'Aubuisson were president, Congress would be reluctant to approve aid to the Salvadoran government.

The State Department denied Friday that it is supporting Mr. Duarte, through indirect funding and other measures, in the election. The Associated Press reported from Washington.

John Hughes, the State Department spokesman, acknowledged

(Continued on Page 3, Col. 1)

## Jaruzelski Confers With Chernenko Against Backdrop of Polish Protests

By Dusko Doder

Washington Post Service

MOSCOW — The Polish leader, General Wojciech Jaruzelski, received a warm welcome and the Soviet Union's highest decoration Friday as he began a two-day visit to Moscow.

Although General Jaruzelski's trip was planned well before renewed anti-government protests in Warsaw and other Polish cities during the past week, Poland's internal situation is believed to have been one of the main topics in the general's talks with President Konstantin U. Chernenko and other Soviet officials.

In Poland, Cardinal Jozef Glemp and more than 60 Polish bishops appealed to the government Friday to release all political prisoners, according to wire dispatches. A statement issued after a two-day meeting of the Polish episcopate at the Jasna Gora monastery in Czestochowa said, "All those suffering and imprisoned are a subject of the bishops' constant concern."

At a dinner honoring General Jaruzelski, Mr. Chernenko charged that the Reagan administration

"has still not given up its hope of bleeding Socialist Poland white with economic boycotts and by organizing subversive acts against its government. But he asserted that unity among the Warsaw Pact allies 'helps us stand our ground at a time of trial and to repulse the attacks of our class enemies.'"

General Jaruzelski spoke about "unbreakable" friendship and cooperation between Moscow and Warsaw.

Apart from long private talks, Mr. Chernenko and General Jaruzelski signed a new long-term economic cooperation agreement. All top Soviet officials were also present at a ceremony during which Mr. Chernenko awarded the Order of Lenin, the Soviet Union's highest civilian decoration, to the Polish leader.

General Jaruzelski's visit to Moscow was overshadowed by the new signs of unrest in Poland on May Day and again Thursday. But a Polish commentary published Friday in Pravda, the Soviet party newspaper, stated that a period of "anarchy" in Poland had now passed and that the Communist Party had reasserted its authority.

The commentary, written for the visit, said that "the threat of total economic collapse and civil war" had vanished. It conceded, however, that the Polish authorities were still making mistakes. Diplomatic observers in Moscow suggested that Mr. Chernenko had been expected to urge General Jaruzelski to avoid such mistakes by tightening internal controls.

Walesa Warns Authorities

Lech Walesa, the founder of the Solidarity movement, said Thursday that police brutality in dispersing demonstrators this past week might provoke crowd violence if it were repeated. He said he was prepared to defend himself if attacked. The Associated Press reported from Warsaw.

"The vandalism of the authorities must be put to an end," Mr. Walesa said in an interview videotaped by ABC and made available to The AP on Friday. "I will not step from the peaceful path, but we must guarantee protection for peaceful demonstrations."

Police used water cannon and truncheons to scatter Solidarity demonstrators Tuesday and Thursday.

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BUSINESS/FINANCE

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■ Esmark Inc. agrees to a cash merger offer from a New York investment firm worth more than \$2.29 billion. Page 7.

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■ The Mark Rothko Foundation has given hundreds of the artist's pictures to 19 U.S. and European museums. Page 4.

■ The "Shield of Achilles," a 19th-century English silver-gilt showpiece, sold for a record \$484,000 at Sotheby's. Page 5.

MONDAY

■ Mysterious radio stations are broadcasting "black propaganda" into China.

## Soviet Charges China With Giving Support To Reagan's Policies

By Serge Schmemmann  
New York Times Service

MOSCOW — The Soviet Union has accused China of taking only scant notice of the United States' "militarist course" while seeking improved relations with Washington.

An unsigned assessment of President Ronald Reagan's visit issued Thursday by Tass, the government press agency, reiterated past statements that Mr. Reagan had given the visit a "provocative anti-Soviet orientation" and had sought "to play the 'China card' against Moscow."

But diplomats noted that the commentary was also critical of the Chinese leaders, charging them with having tacitly or even openly supported Mr. Reagan's policies.

Earlier this week, The New York Times quoted Western diplomats in Moscow as saying that the Kremlin seemed to be relieved that Mr. Reagan did not score greater successes in China.

The Tass statement said Deng Xiaoping, the paramount Chinese leader, was supporting the U.S. arms buildup, and it said the Chinese either took no notice or issued only minimal criticism of American policies toward the Soviet Union, Asia, Latin America and even Taiwan and communism.

"The demagogic calls that Reagan made in Beijing for a further aggravation of international tension and for heightening the confrontation with the U.S.S.R. and with other Socialist countries confirm the militaristic trend of United States policy," Tass said.

"Reagan was not concealing imperialist class attitudes and interests and his striving to draw in an anti-Communist, anti-Soviet 'crusade' any political forces in the world, including the use of economic levers and promises."

"This is a dangerous course. It contradicts the interests of peace and socialism as well as the interests of the Chinese people."

The commentary contrasted China's apparent effort to find common ground with Mr. Reagan with the absence of substantial progress in normalizing Soviet-Chinese relations.

It said Beijing was taking positions that "hinder the normalization of Chinese-Soviet relations," an allusion to China's insistence that any improvement of relations was contingent on a resolution of disputes over the Vietnamese occupation of Cambodia, Soviet intervention in Afghanistan and a reduction of Soviet forces along the Chinese border.

The fact that the Tass statement was not attributed — it was simply titled "Regarding Reagan's Visit to China" — suggested to diplomats that Moscow wanted to avoid official criticism of China on the eve of a scheduled visit to Beijing by Ivan S. Arkhipov, a first deputy prime minister charged with foreign economic relations.

On the issue of U.S. arms sales to Beijing, Tass said: "Attention was caught by one report that sales of United States arms to China were discussed during Reagan's visit. Secretary of State [George P.] Shultz said talks on arms sales were proceeding at a rapid pace. A trip by Defense Minister Zhang Aiping to the United States is planned for June to achieve concord on specific issues in that area."

The main point in the commentary was that China had allowed itself to be used by Mr. Reagan, "especially in the context of confrontation with the Soviet Union in Asia and the Pacific region." Tass said the Chinese leaders "equated the imperialist and militarist policy of the United States with the peaceable policy of the countries of the Socialist community."

"Deng Xiaoping said in this connection," the statement added, "that China was not opposed to the United States arms buildup. The president's national security adviser, [Robert C.] McFarlane, affirmed that Beijing unequivocally supported steps aimed at restoring United States might with the aim of checking so-called Soviet expansionism, which is, of course, a fabrication. Nor did the Chinese side object, judging from the results of the talks, to the militarization of Japan and other United States allies or to steps aimed at the creation of a military bloc involving Washington, Tokyo and Seoul."

The Soviet statement took the Chinese to task for failing to demand the withdrawal of U.S. forces from South Korea and for not specifically criticizing American actions in Grenada and against Nicaragua.

"It is significant that Reagan's visit coincided with the sharpening of tension on the Chinese-Vietnamese border by Beijing," the statement said, alluding to recent border incidents.

■ **China Accused on Vietnam**

The Soviet Union accused China Friday of using military force against Vietnam and called on it to settle differences with Hanoi by negotiation, Reuters reported in Moscow.



Prime Minister-designate Rashid Karami, a Sunni Moslem, is hailed in Beirut as he leaves Friday prayers.

## Berri Repeats Refusal Of Post in Lebanon; Beirut Battles Renewed

Reuters

BEIRUT — Nabih Berri, the leader of the Lebanese Shiite militia known as Amal, continued Friday to refuse to join the government of the prime minister-designate, Rashid Karami.

As the deadlock over the cabinet continued, one person was killed and four were wounded in renewed fighting between Christian and Moslem groups, according to radio reports.

Mr. Berri has declined the posts of minister of justice and of water and electricity resources largely because of the level of cabinet representation proposed for the Shiites. The objections were repeated Friday by a senior Amal official.

Mr. Berri has told Mr. Karami that he would serve only if Mr.

Karami expanded the cabinet or created portfolios for the southern region and for reconstruction, and if Mr. Berri were named to those posts.

Mr. Karami offered to make Mr. Berri chairman of a board responsible for the two tasks. But Mr. Berri said Thursday that the offer was inadequate.

As the deadlock over the cabinet went into its fifth day, fighting again broke out in and around Beirut, where Amal and Walid Jumblatt's Druze Moslem group, the Progressive Socialist Party, were facing the Lebanese Army and the Christian militia known as the Lebanese Forces.

A Christian radio station said that shelling in the eastern suburbs killed a member of the buffer force that was installed two weeks ago in an attempt to disengage the combatants. Beirut radio said that four persons, including two buffer force members, were injured by sniper fire.

Mr. Berri has accused Mr. Karami of reneging on an agreement reached in Damascus last week under which Amal would have five ministers and his Druze allies three in a 26-member cabinet.

Mr. Jumblatt and a third minister, Abdullah al-Rassi, a Greek Orthodox, have also boycotted Mr. Karami's cabinet. Mr. Jumblatt, who had been named minister of public works, transport and social affairs, has refused to serve out of solidarity with Mr. Berri, and Mr. Rassi has declined his post as interior minister over the representation of Maronite Christians.

## Labor Gains, Tories Slide in Local Voting

By R.W. Apple Jr.  
New York Times Service

LONDON — Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher suffered a sharp political reversal on the fifth anniversary of her move to 10 Downing Street.

The Conservative Party in local elections Thursday was turned out of office in several important cities and barely managed to hold on to two seats in the House of Commons that it has always won by hefty margins. Results of local elections in England, Scotland and Wales, excluding London and a few other areas, which were declared Friday morning, showed that the Tories had lost control of the councils in Birmingham, Edinburgh, Southampton, Exeter and elsewhere.

The loss of Birmingham, England's second largest city, where the Conservatives had cut taxes sharply and proclaimed themselves a "model administration," was a specially bitter blow.

In Liverpool, a city with unemployment problems and other ills, militant Laborites gained the upper hand on the council and promised to take illegal actions to protest laws passed by the Government.

Mrs. Thatcher had counted on a strong Tory showing, and she issued an anniversary statement last week in what was taken as a bit of not-so-discreet electioneering. In it, she indicated again that she proposed to seek a third term and said that the British people knew that "a free, fair, more prosperous and more influential Britain lies ahead, provided we persevere with this Government's approach."

But the Labor Party, under its new leader, Neil Kinnock, was the big winner in the local balloting in this first national test of strength since last year's general election. It scored major gains despite the unpopular miners' strike, which had been thought likely to hurt its election chances.

It was the Liberal-Social Democratic Alliance that pressed Tory candidates hard in two English by-elections at Surrey Southwest, near London, and at Stafford in the Midlands. The alliance made its best showing overall since it lost momentum at the time of the Falklands war in 1982, and ran far more strongly than it had in most recent opinion polls.

Mr. Kinnock was jubilant, asserting in an interview that "it had had a general election yesterday, and if it had been preceded by a full-fledged campaign, you would be talking to me as the prime minister." But most party leaders conceded privately that they would have to make much more progress to stand any real chance of winning the next general election.

The "outs" traditionally run strongly in Britain in the first year after a general election. Labor did so in 1970, and in 1980, after Mrs. Thatcher first won. David Owen, the leader of the Social Democrats, interpreted the results as conclusive evidence that "the alliance is here to stay."

It appeared that the voters in most parts of the country had reacted adversely to the Tory effort to dictate the spending patterns of local councils by limiting grants from the central government, and also to Mrs. Thatcher's plans to abolish the metropolitan councils — a layer of government between the local councils and the Commons.

PERSONALITIES PLUS  
MARY BLUME  
IN THE WEEKEND SECTION  
OF FRIDAY'S PIT

## Pope, in City Torn by 1980 Rebellion, Preaches Reconciliation to S. Koreans

By William Chapman  
Washington Post Service

KWANGJU, South Korea — Pope John Paul II prayed for reconciliation in the Christian spirit Friday in this provincial city where four years ago a violent conflict between citizens and troops ended in death for about 200 civilians.

The pope made no political comment on the confrontation but said that by accepting a commitment to Christ "we become instruments of reconciliation and peace in the midst of dissension and hatred."

Meanwhile, in Seoul, student demonstrations continued against the government. At Korea University, about 2,500 protesters chanted anti-government slogans and paraded with black-draped pictures of six students alleged to have died after being forcibly inducted into military service after past demonstrations. Police with water cannon and tear-gas launchers waited outside the campus gates.

At the same time, on the second day of his South Korean visit, the pontiff presided over a baptismal ceremony before more than 50,000 spectators packed into Kwangju stadium.

It was the first mass appearance of his visit here and loud cheers of "Viva Papa" greeted his arrival in a car outfitted with protective glass that bore him around the running track.

He led the baptismal ceremony for 72 local converts and stressed that they accept the duty of reconciliation, which he said "is particularly relevant for those who are haunted by the memory of the unfortunate events of this place."

Government troops under the command of the present president, Chun Doo Hwan, took the city with tanks and gunfire in May 1980, ending a rebellion that had started as a protest against Mr. Chun's rise to power. Over a period of several days at least 189 persons were slain, according to government estimates. Others believe the death toll was higher.

Mr. Chun's paratroopers shot their way into control of the provincial center headquarters which had been seized by the rebels. The violent suppression is still a major factor in repeated student protests of Mr. Chun's government.

How the pope would deal with the suppression was one of the main questions of his visit here and he chose to avoid political commentary to emphasize Christian reconciliation.

"In the way, as effective signs of Christ's healing power working through us, we can ease the pain of injured hearts that are filled with anxiety and bitterness," he said.

Church officials denied reports that the pope was affected Thursday when, as he entered a seminary for prayer, tear gas from a nearby

confrontation between students and police drifted toward him.

There had been predictions that Kwangju students would try to hold protests during the pope's visit to call attention to the 1980 killings, but if any demonstrations were held they were far from the soccer stadium which was under heavy police guard.

After the baptism here, the pope went to a leprosy hospital on Sorokdo, an island off the southwestern coast, and prayed with the hospital's 3,000 patients.

[At one point he started his security guards by moving unexpectedly into the crowd of lepers and shook their hands and patted their heads, according to Reuters.]

Friday night, the pope addressed the foreign diplomatic community in Seoul and for the first time made veiled criticism of the country's enemies in North Korea.

He said the insecurity of nations leads some to attempt military superiority "even to gain the upper hand by acts of naked terrorism as in Langson."

Seventeen South Korean officials were killed in a bomb blast in the Burmese capital in October. A Burmese court convicted two North Korean commando officers of causing the blast.

■ **North Condemns Trip**

North Korean radio Friday condemned the pope's visit, saying it "was aimed at slandering the North and deepening the confrontation between North and South Korea," United Press International reported.

## Talks in Paris Fail to Break EC Deadlock

By Axel Krause  
International Herald Tribune

PARIS — President François Mitterrand and Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher of Britain met Friday to discuss the problem of Britain's contributions to the European Community budget, but their meeting apparently had little effect on resolving the dispute.

EC Commission and French government sources said the issue probably would remain deadlocked until after next month's elections to the European Parliament.

Mr. Mitterrand will continue to seek agreement with Mrs. Thatcher and the heads of other EC governments before their next summit meeting in Fontainebleau, France, on June 25 and 26, a presidential spokesman said.

The sources said EC leaders were determined to avoid political turmoil that might be engendered by a settlement on Britain's overpayments to the budget and that might interfere with campaigns for the European Parliament elections, June 14 through 17.

"Few if any of the Common Market leaders want to be seen moving publicly on the British question until after the parliamentary elections, primarily out of fear of appearing vulnerable," an EC Commission source said.

A French government source said, "For the next few weeks anyway, it looks as if there will be little apparent movement, although there could be progress."

Roland Dumas, France's minister for European affairs, sought on Friday to diffuse the dispute in France over Britain's contribution.

In a speech to the National Assembly, Mr. Dumas said that recent suggestions from opposition leaders that Britain should be driven out of the EC were "irresponsible" and argued that Britain's withdrawal on any basis "makes no sense" on political, institutional and legal grounds.

The previous EC summit, in Brussels in March, and subsequent ministerial meetings have resulted in agreements on reforms of tariffs and subsidies in the EC's agricultural policies and on continuing negotiations on EC membership for Spain and Portugal.

But progress has been blocked over such important issues as expanding the EC's financial resources and finding funds to cover a \$2-billion deficit this year, primarily because of Britain's insistence on a long-term system of rebates on its budget payments.

## WORLD BRIEFS

### Genscher to Press U.S. on Arms Race

BONN (AP) — Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher will express European concerns about the Reagan administration's plans to extend the arms race to space during his four-day visit to Washington, an official said Friday.

Mr. Genscher will also encourage the United States to indicate to the Soviet Union a new willingness for better East-West relations, the official said. Mr. Genscher plans a trip to Moscow later this month and wants to talk to the Americans about East-West relations, the source said. The Bonn government is currently "exchanging opinions" with the American about their proposals to build weapons for use in space, the official said. Mr. Genscher was to fly to Washington Friday, but the official said his visit will not start until Monday, when he will see Mr. Reagan and U.S. Secretary of State George P. Shultz.

### 4 U.S. Republicans Seek Missile Curb

WASHINGTON (Reuters) — Four congressional Republicans move Friday to halt the planned deployment by the U.S. government within the next 60 days of the first of 7,000 to 8,000 sea-launched cruise missile.

They introduced in the Senate and planned to introduce in the House of Representatives nonbinding resolutions calling for a mutual and verifiable U.S.-Soviet ban on the missile's deployment as a prelude to permanent arms control treaty.

The Republicans — Senators Charles McC. Mathias of Maryland and David F. Durenberger of Minnesota, and Representatives Berkeley Bede and Jim Leach of Iowa — say the missile is difficult to subject to arm control checks. They also contend that the missile would put the United States at a disadvantage in that 75 percent of U.S. territory is vulnerable to sea-launched missile attack, compared to 10 percent of that of the Soviet Union.

### Arabs Urge Greece to Cut Iran Links

ATHENS (WP) — The foreign ministers of Tunisia and Morocco arrived in Athens Friday to try to persuade the Greek government to end sales of light armaments and curb the use of Greek ships taking supplies to Iran, Arab and Greek diplomats said.

The diplomats said the visit, which had not been announced in advance, followed a decision at an emergency meeting of Arab foreign ministers in Baghdad in March to urge Western countries to stop shipping supplies to Iran for use in the Gulf war.

Greek Foreign Ministry officials confirmed the information but did not comment on the government's possible response to the request. The Socialist government of Andreas Papandreu has close ties with Iran although it has also been cultivating Syria, which backs Tehran in its Gulf conflict.

### SWAPO to Meet With South Africans

LUSAKA, Zambia (Reuters) — South African representatives will meet members of the South-West Africa People's Organization in Lusaka next week, Sam Nujoma, the president of the black nationalist group, said Friday.

He said the South African delegation would include Willie van Niekirk, the Pretoria-appointed administrator-general of South-West Africa, which is also known as Namibia. He could not say where or when the meeting would be held but sources said it would be toward the end of the week.

Mr. Nujoma was commenting on reports that a meeting is imminent between SWAPO, South Africa, and representatives of Namibia's political parties, together known as the Multiparty Conference. Diplomat and government sources in Windhoek, the Namibian capital, said meeting might take place in Zambia later this month to discuss a cease-fire and political settlement for Namibia, which is administered by South Africa in defiance of the United Nations.

### Libyans Claim to Find British Arms

BEIRUT (Reuters) — Libyan police searching the former British Embassy in Tripoli claimed to have found five pistols, 46 rounds of ammunition, 20 gas canisters and about 45 masks, the Libyan news agency IANA said Friday.

The police were searching the embassy building Thursday in the presence of Italian diplomats, the agency said. Italy agreed to represent British interests in Libya following Britain's break in diplomatic relations with Libya last week. The search at the former British Embassy was a response to a similar one at Libya's embassy in London, where British police said they found weapons and thousands of rounds of ammunition.

The British Foreign Office denied that weapons found in the building in Tripoli were left by the British when they closed the embassy last week. Official sources in London said it was assumed that the weapons had been planted by the Libyans. Libya said the same thing about the London find. Britain broke relations with Libya following an 11-day siege of the Libyan embassy in London which began when a British policewoman was shot to death outside the building and 11 Libyan protesters were wounded by machine-gun fire.

### Russia to Seek Reforms at UNESCO

PARIS (UPI) — The Soviet Union on Friday gave its support to Western demands for reforms at UNESCO, but maintained that U.S. plans to withdraw from the organization were a "dictate" to rally member countries around U.S. foreign policy.

The head of the permanent Soviet delegation to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, Yuri Khilchik, announced that the delegation would propose a list of reforms at a executive board meeting, beginning May 17. Western nations would also submit suggestions for reform to the board. Mr. Khilchik declined to list the Soviet suggestions.

He criticized U.S. complaints that the United States furnishes 2 percent of UNESCO's budget while UNESCO decisions often conflict with U.S. positions. He said the U.S. promise to reconsider its position "substantial changes are made was an ultimatum."

### For the Record

The former Upper Volta president, Saye Zerbo, was sentenced to eight years in prison for corruption Thursday night, Ouagadougou radio said Friday. Colonel Zerbo ruled from 1980 to 1982. Many former top officials have been tried since the radical leader, Thomas Sankara, seized power in August. (Reuters)

An anti-Turkish Armenian organization called for a mass protest Friday evening following three explosions near an Armenian monument in Paris suburb Thursday that wounded 13 persons. The Armenian National Movement asked French Armenians to assemble in Alfortville to protest the explosions. (AP)

The conviction of Edwin P. Wilson, found guilty of smuggling to Libya 40,000 pounds (about 18,000 kilograms) of explosives for use by terrorists, was upheld by a U.S. appeals court in New Orleans Friday. His lawyers had argued that Mr. Wilson was a former CIA official and that agency approved of his dealings with Libya. He is serving long sentence for this crime as well as for the attempted murder of witnesses. (AP)

The West German government denied Friday that its recent protests in East Berlin had cast a shadow over the planned Western visit of East Germany's president, Erich Honecker. A Bonn spokesman said West Germany continues to protest harassment of its citizens who have visited Bonn's permanent mission in East Berlin. But, he said, the disagreement had nothing to do with Mr. Honecker's visit, still planned for sometime later this year. (AP)

Anti-government rebels in Mozambique massacred 37 civilians in an attack April 23 in the northwestern province of Tete, the Mozambique news agency reported Thursday. It said the Mozambique National Resistance group attacked a convoy about 40 kilometers (25 miles) from the provincial capital of Tete on the road to Malawi. (Reuters)

### Indonesia Fosters Censorship

(Continued from Page 1) enough to buy new homes elsewhere. Troops then drove them out, but some veterans set up a tent camp.

The camp was located across a busy street from one of Jakarta's main hotels and was seen by thousands of tourists and residents, but not a word about it appeared in the newspapers.

A tourist might get the impression that Indonesia has a lively, unfettered press, judging by the accounts of official corruption that regularly appear on the front pages. Informed journalists say these stories concern petty graft the government wants routed out, but that the big offenders are never mentioned. Editors say they know from experience how far they can go with out incurring official anger. On said that ignoring an order by the Information Ministry might bring only a warning the first time, but that a second offense could result in suspension or closing of the newspaper. The result of the strictures, he said, is self-censorship to the point of overcaution.

Resourceful Indonesians get around the curbs on free expression by several means. The ink blots in censored foreign news magazine are scarcely dry before unblemished copies brought in by travelers are being passed around. Photo copies of banned statements are disseminated widely, as are tape recordings of speeches barred from publication.

# LEBANON

## NO to the 10th year of war YES to life in peace

On May 6th in Beirut, thousands of people of all den. minations and from all areas of the city, plan to walk to the dividing «Green Line» and meet in a gesture of peace and as an act against the continuing bloodshed.

We, Lebanese abroad today, unable to join them, fully support the courageous Peace March of the 6th May in Beirut and its purpose of bringing the Lebanese together to assert their will for peace.

In the name of the vast, unheard majority of ordinary Lebanese citizens, we call for an immediate end to hostilities and the start of an uncompromising search by each and every Lebanese for peaceful and just solutions - through dialogue not war.

### Let us now step forward for peace in Lebanon

900 signatures have already been gathered spontaneously in 24 hours to support this statement. If you are Lebanese away from home and feel in spirit with this march, please add your signature by sending it to:

Supporters of the Beirut 6th May Peace March

64 Parkside, London SW19 5NL

John G. L. 1984

## AMERICAN TOPICS

## Teachers Guaranteed On Academic Faults

Starting with the class graduating in June, alumni of the teachers' college at the University of Northern Colorado in Greeley will come equipped not only with a diploma but also with a guarantee.

If a teacher cannot maintain discipline in the classroom or has an academic gap, such as poor spelling, the university will provide whatever additional training is required to meet the school's standard without cost.

"Our guarantee is a statement of confidence in our faculty, our program and our students," said Daniel Burke, dean of the College of Education at the university, which has the nation's fifth largest teacher training program.

About 1,100 people receive bachelor's, master's or doctorate degrees in education there each year.

## Proposed Restriction On Campaign Label

Lying about one's political rival may soon be risky business in California, where voters will decide in a few weeks on a "political death penalty" amendment that would bar from public office any candidates who libel their opponents.

The measure is Proposition 20, the Campaign Label Law, on the June 5 presidential primary ballot. Its principal provisions would amend the state constitution to disqualify from any federal, state or local office any person who deflected a campaign opponent by committing libel or slander.

"I put no limitations on freedom of speech. You can say whatever you want, whenever you want to, however you want to," said Assemblyman Art Agnos, a San Francisco Democrat who wrote the ballot measure.

"But if you lie... you could suffer the political death penalty—removal from office."

Opponents, such as Vigo Nielsen, a campaign law attorney, and the American Civil Liberties Union, do not think the measure will be effective. For one thing, a court must determine that the libelous or slanderous statement in question was "a major contributing cause" of the defeat of the losing candidate.

## New York Drivers Get Photo Licenses

New York plans to begin issuing drivers' licenses with photographs on them this summer, becoming the last state in the country to do so, the state's commissioner of motor vehicles announced Wednesday.

The system is to go into effect by July 2, and the photo licenses will be phased in over several years.

Super Bag Lady Wins Sack Pack-Off Title

It was a supermarket Super Bowl of sorts as an A&P food store in New York City this week as clerks vied for the title of best bag-packer.

The event was the First All-American Paper Grocery Sack Pack-Off, to mark the beginning of the second century of the paper grocery sack and the A&P supermarket chain's 125th anniversary. Working to music from the movie "Rocky," 25 finalists selected from the region's 3,000 clerks showed off their skill at bagging 38 items of various shapes, sizes and weight.

Judges evaluated them for "bag-building technique," "evenly weighted bags," "efficient bag usage" and "attitude and style."

The winner was Cheryl King, 21, who dazzled the judges by achieving two packed bags of exactly the same weight. The runner-up, John Muroski, 22, beat her in speed—44 seconds—but lost because of a four-pound disparity in the weight of his two packed bags.

Alligators on the Bus: Jackson and the Press

The Rev. Jesse L. Jackson has come up with a new name for the 30 reporters, camera crew members and producers who are following his campaign for the Democratic presidential nomination: alligators. "You

all are alligators," he said, "because you make the allegations. Alligator stickers now decorate press cards, television cameras and journalists' briefcases. At a recent campaign stop a Secret Service agent was heard giving directions, "Agents this door, alligators that door."



Rev. Jesse L. Jackson

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## The Last Gallon: Death of a Dairy Cow

A 19-year-old cow, which was called the most productive in the nation, has died in Hanford, California, after giving 54,000 gallons of milk. The Holstein, known as No. 289, was put to sleep Tuesday by a veterinarian.

"She gave milk until about a week ago," said Shirley Maciel of M.G. Maciel & Son Dairy. "Then she just couldn't get up, poor thing. Her back half just gave out." No. 289 was buried Wednesday next to the milking barn. A plaque will be placed there to honor her feat.

The title of record-holder was awarded to No. 289 by the California Holstein Association after her nearest competitor, an Ohio purebred, died last year.

## Notes on People

In some courts, community service is an increasingly popular alternative to jail sentences for persons guilty of lesser offenses. So when the noted abstract artist, Frank Stella, pleaded guilty to speeding, a judge in Hudson, New York, readily agreed to a substitute for 30 days in jail: a series of four public lectures on the roots of modern art. Mr. Stella, 47, is now giving slide-illustrated talks in the Hudson High School auditorium.

Representative Edward J. Markey, the first Massachusetts Democrat to enter the race for the U.S. Senate seat being vacated by Senator Paul E. Tsongas this fall, has become the first dropout as well. Mr. Markey, 37, said he had realized he was a "happy man" in the House of Representatives and would rather run for a fifth House term than stay in the crowded contest for Senator Tsongas's seat.

## Duarte Effort in El Salvador Reportedly Assisted by U.S.

(Continued from Page 1)

that the Salvadoran Communist Union has received \$1.1 million in U.S. money but said its purpose is to increase the number of applicants under the Salvadoran land reform program, among other non-political objectives.

The Nationalist Republican Alliance, known as ARENA, already seems to be laying the groundwork to complain if it loses that it was the victim of U.S. interference, vote fraud or both.

Hugo Barrera, the party's vice presidential candidate, objected Wednesday to "strong U.S. influence" at the Central Elections Council, the body that is organizing the elections. He asserted that the "interference" was "of a fraudulent type."

While Americans have played an expanded role at the elections council in the past month, their efforts appear to be designed primarily to help avoid the widespread disorder that marred the March 25 first-round vote.

The Central Elections Council also is depending heavily on free assistance from IVEPO, Jorge Roche, the council's elections project manager, said that the agency was paying salaries of about 300 people who were doing clerical work and staffing telephone banks and information kiosks to explain to people where to vote.

Order to Military

Edward Cody of The Washington Post reported from San Salvador: The Salvadoran defense minister ordered military officers Friday to keep out of politics no matter who wins the election Sunday. The Washington Post reported from San Salvador.

"I remind the armed forces that we are past due with democracy," General Eugenio Vides Casanova said in a statement published in San Salvador's two morning newspapers.

"We will be loyal with our people," he said, "and we will not fraud their faith in the democratic system."

## Senate Rejects Bill Allowing A Presidential Line-Item Veto

By Helen Dewar

Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON—The Republican-controlled Senate has rejected legislation to give the president authority to veto individual items within spending bills. President Ronald Reagan had asked Congress to approve such an expansion of executive power in the form of a constitutional amendment.

But the vote Thursday of 56 to 34, on a proposal to grant line-item veto authority on a two-year trial basis, came on the issue of whether it was constitutional to take the action in regular legislation.

This blurred the question of whether a president should be given the power to eliminate items in an appropriations bill without vetoing the entire measure.

Earlier, senators had defeated a motion to postpone consideration of the constitutional question, by 46 to 45. But the closeness of that vote suggested that there was more support for presidential line-item veto power than had been indicated by the vote on the constitutional issue.

But neither vote suggested that the line-item veto proposal could muster the two-thirds vote that is necessary to pass a constitutional amendment. Mr. Reagan had requested such a step in his State of the Union message in January.

The votes came in connection with a pending deficit-reduction measure, discussion on which had been sparsely attended. But senators streamed to the floor for the veto debate, which touched on the

issue of congressional authority as well as budgetary control.

Such Reagan loyalists as Howard H. Baker Jr. of Tennessee, the leader of the House's Republican majority, split with the president on the line-item veto issue.

"I think this is a bad idea," Mr. Baker said. He warned that a line-item veto would constitute not only a broad new grant of power to the executive branch but also an inducement to Congress to compress all its appropriations into "one item, one line."

Among the most impassioned arguments against the proposal was one by Mark O. Hatfield of Oregon, the Republican chairman of the Appropriations Committee. Mr. Hatfield called it a "silly idea" that would allow the president "virtually to dictate spending priorities."

He said Congress should "bury" the veto proposal and "forget it was ever raised and maybe ask forgiveness for ever having had such a thought."

The proposal was offered by Senator Mack Mattingly, a Republican from Georgia who is a member of the Appropriations Committee. It would have allowed a president to veto individual items in an appropriations bill for the next two years, after which the authority would expire automatically.

It also would have allowed Congress to override these vetoes by a simple majority vote of both houses, rather than the two-thirds vote now required to override vetoes of appropriations bills and other legislation.

Mr. Mattingly said that the con-

stitutional balance between executive and legislative powers would not have been disrupted because Congress could override vetoes by the same simple majority that is required for passage of the legislation in the first place.

Mr. Mattingly's main argument, however, was that it was an urgently needed tool to control spending and deficits, which, he contended, are beyond control under the current system.

Congress, he said, simply could not wait for a constitutional amendment. As for the constitutional issue, he added, "that's what you have courts for."

Senator Lawton Chiles of Florida, the ranking Democrat on the Budget Committee, said that it would not be the president who would search through appropriations bills for items to veto, but "some faceless, nameless bureaucrat who wears little green eyeshades," and probably someone who "ain't never liked that program anyhow."

On the final vote, most Republicans supported the line-item veto despite the opposition of Mr. Baker; most Democrats voted against it.

In related action Thursday, the Senate Finance Committee approved legislation to raise the federal debt ceiling from \$149 trillion to \$169 trillion, enough to last the government until well after the November elections and probably through March. The current ceiling is expected to be reached by May 24, according to the Treasury Department.

## General's Death in Jet: Should Top Officers Fly?

By Michael Getler

Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON—The death of a high-ranking air force general April 26 apparently at the controls of a specially modified Soviet MiG-23 fighter in a secret U.S. test program has rekindled debate about the wisdom of allowing senior generals to perform duties normally carried out by younger test pilots.

On the one hand, said one air force officer, the various commands "do not want to be led by desk-bound generals."

But there is a big leap, others said, between flying familiar aircraft and specially modified high-performance aircraft such as the plane that Lieutenant General Robert M. Bond, 54, was reportedly piloting when the fatal mishap occurred near Nevada's Nellis Air Force Base. General Bond was due to retire in two months.

In September 1972, another three-star air force general, George Simler, was killed when a T-38 jet he was piloting crashed on takeoff in Texas. At the time, General Simler was chief of the Air Force Training Command. The plane he was flying was a two-seater and the officer in the back seat was his aide, a captain who was also qualified as an instructor pilot, officials said Thursday.

Air force directives require that generals who fly in planes with dual controls must have instructor pilots with them. That directive was on the books before General Simler's death and remains in force today. However, officers said his death

caused concern within the military at the time about older officers at the controls of airplanes and caused even further limiting of the number of such officers permitted to fly.

Air force sources said there are only about 84 air force generals of roughly 435 who are authorized to fly.

Air force directives also state, officials said Thursday, that generals who perform duties in aircraft without dual flight controls "must be fully qualified and current according to this regulation" and that only the air force chief of staff can designate which generals can fly.

The Defense Department and the air force, however, have clamped down on information so it is difficult to report on the situation with certainty. Thus, while General Bond was among those generals authorized to fly, air force officials said only that they assume that the general, an experienced and highly decorated aviator, was in compliance with directives that he also be "fully qualified and current" in whatever he was piloting.

General Bond's flight records, sources said Thursday, are part of the ongoing investigation that is now under way.

One well-placed source said Thursday that it was his understanding that soon after the crash occurred, senior air force leaders made inquiries with the chief of the Air Force Systems Command, General Robert Marshall, about what General Bond was doing flying a MiG. There was no official confirmation of this.



General Robert M. Bond

Although he heads one of the air force's biggest commands, General Marshall is not a rated pilot. General Bond was the vice commander and thus the senior flying officer.

Details of the crash are known to only a very few top officers. Pentagon and military sources who had been picking up information about the crash secondhand were quoted in some press accounts as indicating the plane was a MiG and in others that the plane was connected to the air force Stealth project to develop new fighters and bombers that can evade enemy radar.

Actually, it appears that both accounts may have been true, in that the secretly acquired MiG was reportedly being used in tests associated with the Stealth technology. Both projects are top secret, however, and so the Pentagon was not disappointed about the confusion.

## Alan Schneider Is Dead; Directed Plays in U.S.

Los Angeles Times Service

LONDON—Alan Schneider, 66, director of avant-garde stage productions and the United States' primary link to the plays of Samuel Beckett and Harold Pinter, died Thursday in a London hospital. He had been comatose since being struck by a motorcycle on Monday while en route to a theater.

The Tony Award-winning director of "Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?" (1962) was in England to stage "The War at Home," an American play.

In 1962, he scored his first commercial triumph in New York with "The Remarkable Mr. Pennypacker." He later staged Beckett's "Waiting for Godot," "Krapp's Last Tape" and "Endgame." In 1962, he staged the American premiere of Pinter's "The Dumb Waiter" and "The Collection," earning him a Village Voice Off-Broadway or Obie award.

Ex-Senator Glen Taylor; Ran With Wallace in '48

MILLBRAE, California (AP)—Former Senator Glen Taylor of Idaho, a political maverick who started out as a touring actor and rose to become a vice presidential candidate on the Progressive Party ticket, has died at age 80.

Mr. Taylor died April 28 in a Burlingame, California, of Alzheimer's disease, a degeneration of the nerve cells. Mr. Taylor ran for Congress as a Democrat in 1938, and for the Senate in 1940, 1942 and 1944. He was elected in 1944. In 1948, he became the vice presidential candidate on the Progressive Party ticket with Henry Wallace.

Joseph Calvet, 86, French Violinist

PARIS (IHT)—Joseph Calvet, 86, a French violinist who founded the Calvet string quartet in 1919, died Friday in Paris.



PHILADELPHIA INFERNO—A fire that started in a building undergoing renovation quickly spread to other downtown buildings in Philadelphia and thousands of people were evacuated from a shopping center. The blaze began Thursday in the Harrison Court building, which was gutted. Three other buildings burned, while the shopping center, known as The Gallery, was scorched. Two firefighters were hurt.

## Jackson, Mondale and Ex-Party Head Meet on Averting Convention Split

By Milton Coleman

Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON—The Rev. Jesse L. Jackson and former Vice President Walter F. Mondale have met with the former Democratic Party chairman, Robert S. Strauss, to discuss having him mediate disputes among the party's presidential candidates to minimize the chance of divisive fights at the nominating convention in July.

Party sources said Thursday that the 20-minute meeting in Dallas, where Mr. Mondale, Mr. Jackson and Senator Gary Hart of Colorado debated Wednesday, could lead to establishing a high-level Democratic task force headed by Mr. Strauss, to try to reconcile as many differences as possible among the three candidates.

"We talked in general terms about the fact that it was a tricky situation and it was made for mischief," Mr. Strauss said Thursday, referring to the convention. "It would not be good for the nation or for the Democratic Party or for Jackson or for him to be incorrectly perceived as or be a mischief-maker, and he understood that better than anyone."

"My general thought is that after Ohio, if things go the way I anticipate, it's time to start the healing process," Mr. Strauss said.

Many political observers believe that a loss by Mr. Hart to Mr. Mondale in the Ohio primary, the biggest of four on Tuesday, would virtually eliminate him from the race for the nomination.

In addition to Ohio, Indiana, Maryland and North Carolina will hold primaries on Tuesday. Those primaries will follow caucuses in Texas and a primary in Louisiana

on Saturday and caucuses in Colorado on Monday.

On Wednesday, Mr. Jackson proposed the formation of a panel to study whether runoff primaries in nine Southern states and Oklahoma discriminate against blacks and minorities.

Runoffs there are required by the Democratic parties when no candidate receives more than 50 percent of the vote in an initial election. Under those circumstances, the two top vote-getters in the first round face each other in a runoff. If a black candidate receives more votes than white candidates in the first round, he usually faces a white candidate in the runoff who is likely to get the support of defeated white candidates.

In the past, Mr. Jackson has declared the runoffs discriminatory and said that support for blanket abolition of them would condition his backing of any nominee.

Mr. Hart agrees with Mr. Jackson. But Mr. Mondale, who now appears most likely to win the nomination, has said that he would support ending the primaries only if they are determined to be discriminatory.

Many leading Southern Democrats have questioned whether the runoffs are discriminatory and some contend that Mr. Jackson's insistence on changing the system could divide the party and drive many Southern Democrats into the Republican Party.

Last year, the Democratic National Committee established a task force to investigate allegations by Mr. Jackson and others that the runoff primaries and various other practices in the South discriminate against blacks.

The task force found that the runoff primaries "discourage active participation by minorities" and "may constitute a denial of equal protection."

Mr. Hart is considering challenging as many as 310 delegates already won by Mr. Mondale, the Los Angeles Times quoted a Hart spokeswoman as saying in Boston, Louisiana, where Mr. Hart was campaigning.

The spokeswoman, Kathy Bushkin, said Thursday that the number, which is nearly half of Mr. Mondale's total, represents delegates Mr. Mondale had won in congressional districts in 12 states and the District of Columbia where 129 Mondale delegate committees had been active.

Until Mr. Mondale asked the committees to disband last week, they had used an estimated \$500,000, including \$250,000 from union political action committees, to further Mr. Mondale's campaign.

The Federal Elections Commission is investigating a complaint that Mr. Hart filed last month to determine whether use of the money violated campaign spending laws. Mr. Mondale has said that the campaign expenditures were legal.

Iowa, N.H. Slates Admitted

A panel of the Democratic National Committee has voted to admit Democratic National Convention delegations from Iowa and New Hampshire, United Press International reported from Washington.

The vote ended a dispute that began when the national organization challenged the states' decision to hold the elections early. The states had argued that their laws required them to advance the dates for delegate selection.

## State Judge Bans Autopsy Findings In Kennedy Death

New York Times Service

WEST PALM BEACH, Florida—A state court judge has barred the release of any information about the cause of death April 25 of David Kennedy, the 28-year-old son of the late senator Robert F. Kennedy, saying that to do so would "impede" a police investigation into the case.

Earlier statements by officials said traces of cocaine and Demerol, a powerful painkiller, had been found in Mr. Kennedy's body. The results of an autopsy to show the exact cause of his death will be withheld under the order.

Ordering the ban Thursday, Judge R. William Rutter told news organizations: "We have to balance the public's right to know with the public's right to be protected. I think there are compelling reasons not to release the information."

The news organizations have sued the state to have information about the death and investigation into it disclosed to the public. Law-enforcement officials have refused to comment on questions about whether the Kennedy family has exerted pressure to keep the autopsy findings private.



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## ARTS / LEISURE

## 19 Museums to Get Rothkos

By Paul Richard

WASHINGTON — The Mark Rothko Foundation has given 285 pictures by the late Abstract Expressionist master — worth perhaps \$100 million — to the National Gallery of Art. The gallery will also receive the archives of the foundation and 500 to 600 sketches, drawings and other study materials.

It is the foundation's core collection that has been transferred to the gallery in what the foundation's unpaid president, Donald M. Blenkins, Thursday described as "a happy ending" to a "unhappy case." Blenkins said Thursday that the foundation's remaining Rothkos will be dispersed to at least 18 other museums. There are 1,000 works in the collection, said Blenkins. Once all have been distributed, probably by 1986, the foundation will be dissolved.

The other institutions that will be given between 1 and 15 works are the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Museum of Modern Art, the Whitney and Guggenheim museums in New York; the Albright-Knox Art Gallery in Buffalo; the Los Angeles County Museum of Art; the Museum of Contemporary Art in Los Angeles; the San Francisco Museum of Modern Art; the Walker Art Center in Minneapolis; the Art Institute of Chicago; the High Museum of Art in Atlanta; the Fogg Art Museum in Cambridge, Massachu-

setts; the Yale Art Gallery; the Tate Gallery in London; the Stedelijk Museum in Amsterdam; the Louisiana Museum in Denmark; the Israel Museum in Jerusalem; and the Tel Aviv Museum.

Rothko is only the second American artist to be represented in such depth in the National Gallery's collection. The other is Alfred Stieglitz (1864-1946), the photographer and dealer, whose widow, the painter Georgia O'Keeffe, gave her "master set" of 1,600 Stieglitz images to the museum in 1949.

In 1968 and '69, Rothko, while selecting pictures for a London retrospective, made an inventory of 403 objects he thought particularly important. All 285 given to the gallery bear inventory numbers he assigned them. Though most are still in storage in New York, many will be included in a touring Rothko retrospective scheduled to open in London at the Tate Gallery in 1986, and 40 are on view in "Rothko: Works on Paper" at the National Gallery.

## Wright Brothers' Photos

The Associated Press

DAYTON, Ohio — "Early Flight 1900-1911," an exhibition including photos from the Wright brothers' collection, many shown for the first time, will be at the U.S. Air Force Museum here May 12-Aug. 30, and the Smithsonian Institution's Air and Space Museum in Washington Nov. 21-Dec. 30.

Rothko — who was born Marcus Rothkowitz in Russia, came to the United States at 10 and grew up in Portland, Oregon — killed himself in his New York studio 14 years ago, is best known for the weightless clouds of colored light that hover in these paintings. The other objects given, some of which were painted as early as the 1930s, trace the many phases of his long career. All were once for sale. They would have been dispersed had not the painter's daughter, Kate, now a Washington pathologist, then a 19-year-old orphan, sued for their return in 1971.

Arrayed in court against her were her father's closest friends, the executors of his estate, his galleries and his dealer. Rothko at his death had left 798 pictures. Kate was given none. Neither was her brother, Christopher, then 12. The executors — desiring to raise cash for a Mark Rothko Foundation — instead sold 100 (for an average price of \$12,000 each) and consigned all the rest (at a 50 percent commission) to Frank Lloyd, Rothko's dealer, and the Marlborough galleries he ran in Europe and New York.

Ben Heller, the collector, predicted at the trial that Rothko's most important paintings might eventually be worth \$1 million each. On Nov. 9, 1983, one of Heller's Rothkos, "Black, Maroons and White" (1958) fetched \$1.8 million at Sotheby's, New York.

On Jan. 16, 1976, the court ruled in Kate Rothko's favor, appointing her "sole administrator" of the estate and finding Lloyd and the executors \$9.25 million — a figure since substantially reduced by the return of many paintings that ostensibly had been sold.

After appeals were exhausted, the Rothko legacy was divided in what Kate Rothko calls "an amiable round robin." Ten percent of Rothko's pictures had been left to his widow, who survived him by six months. Five-ninths of the remaining art went to a reconstituted Mark Rothko Foundation. Kate and Christopher got the rest.

## Personal Taste Dominates Proliferation of Modern Art Centers

By John Russell

New York Times Service

NEW YORK — There is hardly a city of consequence in the developed world that does not now have, or want to have, a museum of modern art. Hardly a week passes — or so it seems — without news of a new annex here, a new wing there, and a completely new building somewhere else.

As everyone knows, all this was set in motion by the Museum of Modern Art in New York, which on May 17 reopens to the public in premises that have been greatly enlarged.

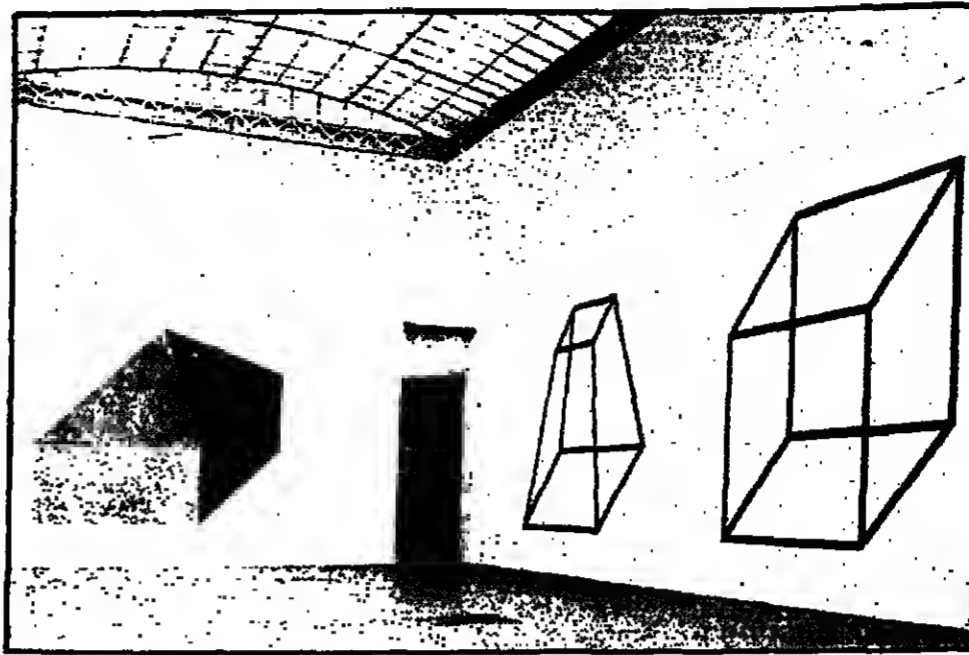
The museums in question come in all shapes and sizes. The three vital words — "museum," "modern" and "art" — mean different things in different places. But the central credo remains the same — that a museum of modern art is a badge of civic vitality.

The museum of modern art is expected, moreover, to be all things to all people. It is at once a sanctuary of high art and an enlightened playground. It is boutique and Socratic grove, Sphinx and place of rendezvous, concert hall and hardware store. You can find the new art there, and you can also find the new clock, the new pen and the new spoon.

Above all, the museum of modern art is plugged in — so the theory goes — to sources of energy that are of high quality and thus far inexhaustible. You can read there, eat there, argue there and dance there. In its craving to be a quality place for quality people, the museum of modern art may, in fact, be the single most distinctive social innovation of the last 50 years.

Sometimes the museum buildings are works of art in themselves. The new museum of modern art designed by the Austrian architect Hans Hollein for Monchengladbach, not far from Düsseldorf, is an example of this. Another is the bone-white building that Philip Johnson designed in the 1960s for Corpus Christi, Texas.

The Museum of the Southwest,



Wall drawings by Sol LeWitt at the Stedelijk Museum in Amsterdam.

as it is now called, is not large, and in recent years it has broadened its constituency and no longer operates exclusively in terms of contemporary art. But, standing as it does on the very edge of the Gulf of Mexico, it looks like a dream fulfilled. And as of this moment, from Edinburgh to Cambridge, Massachusetts, and from Stuttgart to Los Angeles, that dream is common to trustees and construction workers, curators and docents, courted donors and farseeing mayors.

Because living art is a highly volatile subject, museums of modern art tend to be strongly characterized. In fact it is hardly too much to say that many of them are not so much museums as experiments in autobiography. Their character is shaped as much by individual human beings, that is to say, by anything else. Committees may play their part, but whether in the long run the museum wins or loses is determined by one person at a time.

If we look at the map of Europe, and more especially at the museums of modern art in Paris, Amsterdam, Edinburgh, Düsseldorf, Berlin, Edinburgh, Basel and Stockholm, we shall see the truth of this immediately. The museum in Stockholm speaks, as did the Pompidou Center in its first years, for the taste of Pontus Hulten. The Stedelijk Museum in Amsterdam speaks for Willem Sandberg, who died just the other day at the age of 84, and of his successor Edward de Wilde. One man, Werner Schmalbach, built up the Museum of the 20th Century in Düsseldorf. These are not consensus museums.

Like the new Museum of Contemporary Art in Los Angeles and the National Gallery of Modern Art in Edinburgh, they are personal museums, shaped by just one or two people. Such is the case with two forthcoming museums of modern art — one of them in London, and devoted entirely to the collec-

tion formed by Charles and Doris Saatchi, and the other, scheduled to open in October 1985 in downtown New York, owed to the driving commitment of a Californian named Edward Brodia.

Modern museums are no place for the half-hearted. Willem Sandberg set the tone for them in 1962. "I believe," he said, "that great artists are living amongst us. It is our duty to find them, to show them with conviction, and to make their work available even to people who don't like it and don't want to see it." This was the point of view of Franz Meyer when he bought his sculptures by Joseph Beuys, one after the other, for the great museum in Basel.

It was the point of view of Sandberg when he bought a large collection of paintings by Kasimir Malevich for less than \$1,000 apiece despite sustained opposition from the city fathers. (Thirty years later, you would have trouble getting any

one of them for \$500,000 on the market.)

Doubtless it helps — though it could also hinder — that among the curators of modern art who now get into the public eye there is often a large measure of agreement as to who should be brought forward at any given time. Theories of corruption and conspiracy have been known to fatten on this fact, but it is more to the point that taste in living art is a matter of instinct, a much as of reason. The artists who get to stay the international circuit are the ones who for one reason or another press on the nerve of the time. They also tend to be the ones who can be set down anywhere and never look provincial.

For instance, the American artist Sol LeWitt had a big show of wall drawings at the Stedelijk Museum in Amsterdam that closed last month. At a time when violence, intent and ineptitude of execution are to be found on every hand, the visitor found an exceptional refinement in the clarity of state matter, the well-tempered radiance of color and the paradoxical impersonality of handwriting that Sol LeWitt has to offer.

Big museums have a patriarchal presence that tends to go with thick ankles and a certain slowness of movement. It was for this reason that after World War II the concept of the Kunsthalle came into being all over Europe. The Kunsthalle is an exhibition space that has no permanent collection. Four walls, roof, just a few people and some good ideas are all that a Kunsthalle needs.

A perfected cosmopolitanism, helps, too, just as it did when the English architect James Stirling was hired to build a new museum in Stuttgart and the American architect Richard Meier was hired to build one in Frankfurt. The museum of modern art is by its nature cosmopolitan. Major art is at home everywhere. But there is an argument for seeing it in the country that produced it, and for that purpose the Kunsthalle can be ideal.

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## Peru Plans Legal Curbs On Finance Journalism

The Associated Press

LIMA — The administration of President Fernando Belaunde Terry, long considered a defender of press freedom, is preparing a new law that could send journalists to prison for what it called "financial terrorism."

The legislation was prompted by the temporary scare caused by a Lima newspaper report April 5 that the government was planning to convert dollar accounts of Peruvians into soles, the national currency, because of the country's foreign debt of \$12.5 billion. The sol is devalued daily under government policy, and it depreciated 120 percent in 1983.

The government contends the new law would not hamper press freedom but journalists call it a "gag law."

If approved by the Belaunde-controlled Congress, a change in the criminal code would make journalists convicted of bringing on bank panic liable to a maximum of five years in prison.

"This in no way affects freedom of the press," said Senator Javier Alva Orlandini, author of a bill to change the code and the chief driving force of the administration to enact the bill as law.

He has publicly denied that the law, which he said is aimed at preventing "financial terrorism," could be used by Mr. Belaunde's government to abridge constitutional guarantees of press freedom.

"There is no risk. This is directed only against dishonest journalism," he said.

The Senate has passed the measure and it is now before a judiciary committee of the House, where Mr. Belaunde's party holds 98 of 180 seats.

Despite some congressional opposition and protests from the nation's two main journalist organizations, the bill seems likely to win approval.

Francisco Chirinos Soto, president of the Journalists Federation of Peru, said: "As a journalist and lawyer I can say nothing less than to express my protest, surprise and repudiation of this law as passed by the Senate."

Mario Castro Arenas of the Journalists Association of Peru called the measure a "gag law" that every member of the press should protest.

As approved by the Senate, the bill provides that news media guilty of "false information inducing the public to withdraw deposits from banks and financial institutions" would be subject to a penalty of no more than five years in prison.

By contrast, the code provides for maximum sentences of no more than three years in prison for persons convicted of threatening life, health or property by murder, pillage or fire.

The Lima newspaper report created panic among some Peruvians with dollar accounts before it was denied officially by high officials, including Mr. Belaunde. The president hinted that the newspaper account was a conspiracy against his centrist government by the political opposition.

The news story particularly embarrassed the government because it occurred during a biannual meeting in Lima of the United Nations-sponsored Economic Commission for Latin America, which was opened by the UN secretary-general, Javier Perez de Cuellar, who is a Peruvian.

## Isabel Peron to Take Control of Party

United Press International

BUENOS AIRES — Isabel Peron, the former president of Argentina, will return from Spain on May 20 "to assume full leadership" of the Peronist movement, which is in the opposition for the first time in almost 40 years.

Juan Labadie, leader of a commission that handles the former president's affairs in Argentina, said that Mrs. Peron, the widow of Juan D. Peron, whom she succeeded as president, conferred by telephone Thursday with Raul Alfonsín, the current president. He said

that Mrs. Peron explained that she could not return to Argentina in time to participate in a conference between government and opposition officials aimed at finding ways of solving the nation's economic difficulties.

The talks were to begin next week, but Mrs. Peron requested that they be delayed until late May so that she could represent the Peronist movement, Mr. Labadie said.

It was not immediately known if Mr. Alfonsín agreed to delay the meeting.

"She [Mrs. Peron] is coming



Arnulfo Arias, Panama's leading opposition candidate, riding atop a float during a campaign rally on Friday.

## Panama General Denies Intention To Interfere in Sunday's Election

PANAMA CITY — The head of Panama's Defense Forces says there is no basis for concern that the military will interfere in this Sunday's presidential election.

However, General Manuel A. Noriega said Thursday that he had rejected a request for a dialogue on the election by Arnulfo Arias, a leading candidate who has three times before been elected president only to be ousted by the military. Mr. Arias had asked General Noriega for discussions on what would happen if he won the presidency for a fourth time.

General Noriega, whose Defense Forces were formerly called the National Guard, also denied reports by diplomatic sources that he had been warned by the United States against any intervention in the democratic process. Informed sources in Panama said the Reagan administration had communicated to the Defense Forces its concern about the repercussions of military interference in the voting. But, the general insisted, "That has never been said."

Mr. Arias, 82, is running for the Democratic Opposition Alliance and is given a good chance of success against the Revolutionary Democratic Party candidate, Nicholas Ardito Barletta, 45, an economist and the favorite of the military.

## Ecuadorans Vote In Runoff Sunday

Reuters

QUITO, Ecuador — Ecuadorans vote Sunday in a runoff election for president between a European-style socialist, Rodrigo Borge, 48, and a conservative U.S.-educated businessman, Leon Febres Cordero, 53.

Opinion polls give Mr. Borge, a congressman and a lawyer who heads the Social Democratic alliance, a narrow lead over Mr. Febres, of the Conservative Party. The candidates won 24 and 23 percent of votes in the first round in January, and a large bloc of undecided voters is believed to hold the key to victory.

The election is taking place against a background of growing social unrest as austerity measures forced by falling prices for oil exports. Recent disorders include oilfield blockades and sabotage, while violent general strikes in the past 18 months have repeatedly paralyzed the country's major cities.

## Mauroy Hospitalized in Paris

Reuters

PARIS — Prime Minister Pierre Mauroy was taken to a hospital Friday in southern Paris suffering from an acute respiratory ailment, officials said.

## Soviet Drive in Panjshir Reportedly Stepped Up

By Drew Middleton

New York Times Service

NEW YORK — The scope and tempo of the Soviet offensive in Afghanistan against insurgents in a key valley north of the capital have reportedly increased significantly in the past week.

According to Western intelligence agencies and reports from Afghanistan reaching Pakistan, the Soviet Union appears to have signaled an intention to clean out the Panjshir Valley, 50 miles (81 kilometers) north of Kabul, the Afghan capital, by adding airborne troops to the offensive its forces began on April 20.

An aide to the insurgent commander, Ahmad Shah Massoud, whose forces long used the valley as a stronghold, reportedly sent out word that Soviet airborne troops had been flown to block the northern route into the valley. Additional airborne forces were said to have been landed in the adjoining Andarab Valley to the north and to have engaged insurgents there.

These operations follow bombing of insurgent positions in the Panjshir Valley earlier in the week. The attacks reportedly drove many guerrillas into the mountains.

Soviet bombers, Tu-16s and Su-24s, were reported to have caught a rebel force in the open last Sunday and to have inflicted heavy casualties. There are reports, thus far unconfirmed by Western intelligence agencies, that Soviet forces sweeping up the Panjshir have reached the Arjuman Pass at the northeastern end of the valley.

Mr. Massoud was reported to be directing his forces from a safe place outside the valley. This report came from the headquarters of the Jamiat-Islami Party in Peshawar, Pakistan. The rebels reportedly fighting the Russians around the Andarab Pass are said to belong to Hezb-i-Islami, a group hostile to Mr. Massoud.

According to the sketchy reports reaching Peshawar and Islamabad in Pakistan, the fighting has extended to Khinjan, on the main supply route from the Soviet Union. Khinjan is north of the Salang highway tunnel through the Hindu Kush mountains.

The use of Soviet airborne troops is believed to be the first since the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan began in December 1979. One airborne regiment has been deployed there since 1982.

## French School Attacked After Slaying of Basque

Reuters

SAN SEBASTIAN, Spain — A gasoline bomb was hurled at a French school here early Friday, causing minor damage, in apparent reaction to the killing of a suspected Basque guerrilla in southern France, police said.

Demonstrators briefly blocked roads near this Basque port Thursday night to protest the killing of Rafael Goikotxeza and the wounding of an associate in the border town of Saint-Martin-d'Arrosa. A death squad vowing a war of revenge against the separatist guerrilla group ETA (Basque Homeland and Liberty) claimed responsibility.



The insurgents have said that Soviet forces are using chemical weapons, but Western diplomats in Pakistan expressed doubts about these reports. Intelligence organizations in Washington, London and other Western capitals say much of the information coming from Afghan sources in Pakistan should be treated with reserve.

Western sources said the Soviet Union had deployed 14,000 to 20,000 men in the current drive supported by armored units and high-level saturation bombing. Soviet casualties are believed to have been light.

Western sources said it appeared that the Russians intended to expand their operations against insurgents not only in the Panjshir but elsewhere during the spring summer and early autumn. The objective would be to reduce guerrilla operations to a manageable level thus strengthening the government in Kabul.

## U.S. Technicians Arrive in Belgium To Ready Missiles

Reuters

BRUSSELS — The first U.S. military technicians have arrived in Belgium to prepare for the deployment of cruise nuclear missiles under NATO's intermediate-range missile program, Defense Minister Freddy Vervens reported to parliament Friday.

Fifteen technicians have begun work at Florennes air base, 40 miles (70 kilometers) south of Brussels, where 48 missiles are to be based beginning next year. The number of U.S. personnel at the base will be increased to 1,500 by 1987, Mr. Vervens said in a report.

Belgium has not formally accepted the missiles, but Prime Minister Wilfried Martens, who has been charged by parliament with making the decision, has said they would be deployed unless there was a breakthrough in U.S.-Soviet negotiations on medium-range weapons. Moscow interrupted the talks last November and shows no sign of seeking a resumption.

West Germany, Britain and Italy have already begun basing cruise and Pershing-2 missiles, following a 1979 NATO decision to counter what it perceived as a buildup of Soviet SS-20 warheads.

In the Netherlands, the government of Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers has not decided whether to accept its quota of 48 cruise missiles.



# Herald Tribune

Published With The New York Times and The Washington Post

## A Censored Missionary

Politically, America faces no great new decision in dealing with China. Presidents from both political parties have confirmed, with a few changes here and there, a friendly line. That is the anticlimactic but useful work that President Reagan did on his visit.

On security issues, the two countries differ on many lesser things but agree on the big thing, containing the Kremlin, although Beijing is making a bit of a show of evasiveness between the two superpowers. China's urge to modernize gives America certain commercial opportunities. Over time a necessarily complex relationship is being created.

In terms of values, however, President Reagan and the rest of us are still exploring China. Many Americans find it easier to address a hostile Communist state than a friendly one. Finer judgments are required. The central tension of Mr. Reagan's first trip to a Communist country concerned how he would be true to his old and deep anti-Communist beliefs.

Mr. Reagan was strongly critical of the Soviet Union, to the point that the Chinese, who lean to Washington but seek correct relations with Moscow, censured him when he attacked Soviet foreign policy on the air. In one of the passages cut, he presumed to associate China by name with Washington in condemning "military expansionism."

Meanwhile, in tones that seem perfectly fitted for the Republican national convention, he extolled "faith and freedom" and the free

enterprise system. He kept his faith-and-freedom remarks general, avoiding mention of the specific features of Chinese totalitarianism; his hosts censored them. Gracious to the point of the grotesque, the Chinese indulged his statement of economic preferences. They set up what seemed to be an entirely fake free market for the Reagans to buy souvenirs.

Suppose a visiting Deng Xiaoping congratulated Americans for nationalizing passenger trains and urged America to build socialism and a one-party state. At a minimum it would have seemed odd. Mr. Reagan took a chance in trumping on protocol, speaking to the extent that he did to a domestic audience and coming on as a missionary for the American way of life. It was, moreover, a calculated chance: Mr. Reagan's words were not extemporaneous but carefully prepared in advance. Asked about his outspokenness, he said there was no point in hiding the truth for the sake of friendship. Asked about China's censorship, he told American reporters, "You fellows do it all the time." Not bad on the repartee.

In fact, it was no surprise that Mr. Reagan became the first visiting American president to be censored, although one must keep in mind that his predecessors had no similar crack at the Chinese public. The limited liberalizing trend, which made the Reagan appearances possible in the first place, made the remaining restraints that much more conspicuous.

—THE WASHINGTON POST.

## Keeping Youth Waiting

A hundred thousand jobless young people are being held hostage in Capitol Hill. Or at least their jobs are. It has been a year since the House voted to create a Conservation Corps — a new version of the New Deal's Civilian Conservation Corps. But the Senate dawdles and the Reagan administration gives no help. There are 3.5 million 16-to-24-year-olds in America who cannot find jobs — 40 percent of the country's unemployed. There are a million fewer than last year, but the decline is small consolation to those who are still jobless. Despite recovery, their problems persist.

The House version of the conservation corps would spend \$300 million a year, over six years, on summer work and training for 50,000 youths and on year-round opportunities for 36,000 others. They would work in every part of the country, in cities as well as forests, and they would get schooling after work.

Not even the \$1.8 billion in the House bill would make a very big dent in overall youth unemployment. The Senate proposal would

make an even smaller one — spreading only \$200 million over three years. An eventual House-Senate compromise would probably raise that amount. The problem is that the Senate has not yet voted on its bill.

As chairman of the Energy and Natural Resources Committee, Senator James McClure of Idaho calls the shots. He has already prevailed in getting the concept scaled down and ringed with restrictions, as if to make certain that the forests will not be filled with kids from city slums. Even so, he has made no move for a floor vote. There is no heat from the White House, which has opposed the corps mainly on the ground that it would provide only "dead-end" jobs. That is a familiar argument, and one entirely off the point. No one advocates a career corps. Indeed, high turnover is expected. The idea is to give these frustrated young people temporary work and to let them develop work habits, because nothing is so "dead-end" as no job at all.

—THE NEW YORK TIMES.

## Other Opinion

### Toward an Irish Settlement?

The report of the New Ireland Forum deserves an unqualified welcome from all those who want a peaceful solution to the Irish question. The report offers no set formula — not even the blueprint for one. But it is a major departure from the nationalist thinking of the past. For the first time the nationalist parties in Ireland which believe in democracy have come together to recognize a common problem: namely, the danger to the Republic, to Ulster and even to Britain if the present situation is allowed to continue indefinitely.

In so doing they have visibly said a great deal of their previous theology. The report is as remarkable for what it omits as for what it says. There are no crude references to "troops out" and indeed not even the ghost of a timetable is suggested for a solution. Irish unity, though still the goal, has become a distant aspiration rather than an immediate political aim. Reality has taken over.

No British policy will get anywhere if it is halfhearted and low on the agenda. Mrs. Thatcher has an opportunity denied to almost all her predecessors. She should make an Irish settlement a priority for the next four years.

—The Financial Times (London).

### Time Runs Out in Lebanon

It is only too evident that Lebanon is an independent nation in name alone. Since the withdrawal of the Israelis from the country's far south and the evacuation of the Western multinational force, it has become the virtual satellite of one nation, Syria, which has never renounced its claim to most, if not all, of Lebanon's present territory.

At best it seems that Lebanon's future will be one in which warring mini-states carry on their ancient vendettas at the cost of ever increasing death and destruction. What would be worse would be the total subjugation of the country to Syrian rule.

The departure of the Western troops mean

that the prospect for a reasonable settlement, probably involving some sort of confederal constitution, was lost, at least for the present. The debate now in progress is not only tragic for the Lebanese people but a major defeat for the United States and its allies. It may not be too late for the West to salvage something from the wreckage, but time is running out.

—The Australian (Sydney).

### A Firmer Line Against Terror

After lengthy study, the United States has decided to get tough with foreign terrorists by upgrading its knowledge of their plans and subjecting them to preventive strikes and reprisal raids. It is understood that paramilitary squads are being formed by the FBI and the CIA and that each armed service has its counter-terrorist units, all to be coordinated by an agency of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. In addition, Congress will be asked to permit the payment of large rewards to people who provide information on terrorist activities.

On balance, the president was right to adopt a firmer line against terrorism. Americans abroad, especially diplomats, have been day pions. From now on their potential killers will have to weigh the risk of reprisals.

—The Evansville (Indiana) Press.

### No New Deal Yet for the '80s

No one would argue that the precise policies of the 1940s are the right ones for the very different America of today. But if you look at the policies and ideas that today's Democrats stress, you get very little sense of how they expect — or whether they even want — Americans to better their lot, and how government might help. The dream of the 1940s — a dream of working people moving up the ladder and building strong communities — inspired and animated two generations of Americans. What do Walter Mondale, Gary Hart and Jesse Jackson have to offer in its place?

—Michael Barone in The Washington Post.

## The Age Factor: Do Americans Want a 73-Year-Old?

By Alex Brummer

WASHINGTON — Why did it take President Reagan twice as long as his predecessors to complete his trip to China? Did he not off during an agreement-signing session? Why did he seek to change the topic when his Chinese hosts praised him for his vigor? These are questions ordinary Americans were asking as Mr. Reagan journeyed to and in the People's Republic.

Mr. Reagan is a 73-year-old running for a second term in what is arguably the highest office in the world. The president's men have done remarkably well in shielding him from the age question.

It was the issue that collapsed in 1980 when George Bush sought to jog Mr. Reagan out of the nomination and when Jimmy Carter slumped to the ground while competing in a road race in the Maryland hills.

President Reagan's media men, and his remarkably good physical appearance for his age, have done a great job in keeping him youthful in the eyes of the public. In Guam and Hawaii, on his way to China, we saw the president frolicking in the surf. He is the only president to have appeared on the cover of "Parade" magazine, distributed to tens of millions of households every week with their Sunday papers, pumping iron.

He has added a well documented two inches of muscle to his chest since an assassin's bullet narrowly missed his head in 1980. He was arm wrestling in the oval office with a former Mr. Universe while the marines retreated from Lebanon.

Through the contrived television pictures and leaked stories we have learned to our constant amazement of a president who is physically more fit than many men decades younger. It was not until the Beijing trip, when White House aides decided they could not afford to have the president dozing off into the chop seas during a banquet in the Great Hall of the People, that his advisers decided to slow him down in public.

The public relations exercise may now backfire in a nation that puts a premium on youth, alertness and athletics, as Gary Hart has learned to his advantage.

Statistically, according to actuarial figures collected by the life insur-

ance companies, Mr. Reagan should have 9.3 years of living left. About half the people born in 1911, the same year as Mr. Reagan, are still alive. An encouraging 70 percent of them should last the next five years.

But are the American people really willing to risk a 30-percent actuarial chance that their elderly president may be struck down by natural causes in the middle of some crisis? They have had enough trouble dealing with the risk of assassination, which has put unprecedented barriers around their chief executive.

The defenders of Mr. Reagan's age find precedents in modern history. Konrad Adenauer was three months older than Mr. Reagan is now when he became chancellor of West Germany, and he then went on to serve for 14 years. Winston Churchill finally bowed out of office at 80, and Charles de Gaulle at 78. Deng Xiaoping, who has just been Mr. Reagan's host, is 79.

None of this should be taken too

seriously. Does the world really want a man in Churchill-like decline with his finger on the nuclear trigger? And what about the world leaders who have expired before they reached Mr. Reagan's years? Yuri Andropov was a mere strapping of 69 when he died earlier this year.

When he took office Mr. Reagan pledged that he would be willing to undergo regular physical and mental checks. Reports provided by doctors on his 73d birthday on Feb. 6 described him variously as "healthy, physically fit, exercising regularly, mentally alert and adhering to moderation in his diet."

Although it is now more than two years since Mr. Reagan had a full physical examination, there are no suggestions of any serious problems. The only defects remedied since he took office are his hearing, for which he began wearing a microscopic aid last August, and allergies that often make him sound hoarse.

What of his mental state? As far

as we know he has never subjected himself to the senility tests he said he would take when he felt they might be necessary. So the evidence on his mental state is almost entirely anecdotal and plays both ways.

He is still an effective wisecracker who knows how to respond to the heckler, the too clever questioner in the White House press corps or the wrongly placed applause in a State of the Union speech. His ability to read long complex speeches — with the new Soviet leader, Konstantin Chernenko, now appears to be developing — is legendary.

But there is another side to this. In 1982, when on a Latin American tour, Mr. Reagan toasted the people of Bolivia when in Brazil. In an interview before last year's economic summit at Williamsburg he appeared totally confused about who was fighting whom in Central America, to bowls of decision in the press room where his remarks were

being piped. (There have been no more such sessions.) He recently referred to his administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, William Ruckelshaus, as "Don" — an apparent mistake for his chief Middle East negotiator, Donald Rumsfeld. In front of correspondents at his ranch he once called his family dog by the wrong name. The recently released memoirs of former Secretary of State Alexander Haig have raised serious questions about his involvement in policy-making. Lapses like these, if the staffs allow them to happen, could startle Americans in an election year. Whatever Walter Mondale's shortcomings, he is as surefooted a politician as exists, with a remarkable memory and a good grasp of issues at stake. Gary Hart, aside from being youthful in appearance, exudes an intellectual confidence lacking in Mr. Reagan. Either man could be a tough competitor in the autumn. Both appear ready to pounce on the age factor without mercy.

The Guardian, London.

## Belligerent Old Quotes and an Old Man's Present

By Philip Geyelin

WASHINGTON — In October 1965, when the United States was regularly bombing North Vietnam and U.S. combat troops were pouring into the South, Ronald Reagan said: "We should declare war on North Vietnam. We would pave the whole country and put parking stripes on it and still be home by Christmas."

What is interesting about this is that Mr. Reagan said the other day he still thinks he was right. That invites an unsettling question: How much of the rest of what he had to say in those formative years is still valid as a guide to understanding the Reagan administration?

Reagan has been written about in the past. He has been called a Cold Warrior, fixed in concrete. But a recently published book, "On Reagan" by Ronnie Dugger, has to be the handiest compendium of the president's spoken words. Dugger on Reagan is not gentle. But the book is exhaustively researched, including transcripts

from the famous radio broadcasts in the 1975-79 years which Mr. Dugger claims the Reagan campaign staff "deliberately withheld from public examination in the 1980 campaign."

Small wonder, when we recall that a key issue was Ronald Reagan's trigger-happiness, and when you see what the record reveals.

Mr. Reagan was an early advocate of the mining of the North Vietnamese port of Haiphong and spoke weekly of an air force plan for a 90-day assault on 65 military, industrial and transport facilities in North Vietnam that "would have saved all the blood and treasure" of the Vietnam War.

Of any attempt to negotiate out of Vietnam, Mr. Reagan said late in 1965: "What is there to negotiate?"

The enemy must get absolutely no gain. After the U.S. withdrawal and the congressional restraints on further U.S. military involvement, Mr. Reagan said that Congress had acted "more irresponsibly than any Congress in our history."

Mr. Reagan would have halted the North Vietnamese offensive in May of 1975 with B-52 bombers. "Can anyone think for one moment that North Vietnam would have moved to the attack had its leaders believed that we would respond with B-52s?" He believed in bombers and overwhelming applications of force. "B-52s," he once said, "should make a mooncape out of North Korea if South Korea is attacked."

Of nuclear weapons, he said "no one would cheerfully want to use" them, but he thought the leaders in Hanoi should "go to bed every night being afraid that we might."

He set high store on the use of U.S. troops as a "show of strength,"

and recommended U.S. peacekeeping interventions in Rhodesia in 1976, in Cyprus and in the 1975-1976 Lebanese civil war.

It is not hard to understand why a handful of zealous ideologues, implanted in key positions in the national security apparatus, find the president such an easy sell for hard-line designs. Echoes of his early commentaries can be found in the mining of Nicaraguan ports; the use of marines in Lebanon and of 16-inch shells from the battleship New Jersey firing off the coast; the administration's cold shoulder to any serious efforts to negotiate some sort of Central American settlement; the overwringing of little Grenada; the scapegoating of Congress for Lebanon and Central America.

True, the Reagan record in office, where he is subject to many restraints, does not measure up to the Reagan rhetoric. But neither does it argue, in national security affairs, for letting Reagan be Reagan.

The Washington Post.

## Asia's Day May Come, but Not Just Yet

By William Pfaff

PARIS — The new American fascination with the Pacific basin has a less solid base than many think, although important questions are posed for the future. There is much enthusiasm in America about the development of a vast Pacific market that would leave the Atlantic a backwater of trade. There are many in Western Europe, as well, who look at Asia's development with frightened concern for what this may mean for the future of Europe.

America's interest in the Pacific is justified economically by the fact that the United States now has a larger trans-Pacific than trans-Atlantic trade flow. Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore are rightly recognized as terrifically dynamic manufacturing and trading centers. Beyond them are a score of other nations yet to take off economically, one of them the highest nation, and market, of all — China.

If all of eastern and southeastern Asia should develop as Japan and a few others have developed, then we will certainly find ourselves with a transformation of world economic and political relations dwarfing mere trade considerations. We must see the rebirth of a pattern of cultural and power relations established in and after the 16th century by Europe's renaissance, the rise of European science and the European exploration of the Americas, Asia and Africa — which resulted, in crucial respects, in their Westernization. The Pacific would become the center of world economy and industry, and undoubtedly of world power.

The ultimate reason for Europeans and Americans to be so interested in Asia as well — would be relegation to the status of outsiders, inhabitants of a poorer and more backward region.

once again the outer barbarians we once were in China's eyes. But will the rest of Asia develop as Japan has developed? This is the critical question; and the answer is far from certain. First of all, it must be noted that the societies which have successfully and innovatively industrialized are those derived culturally from China. They are the overseas, culturally dependent offspring of China. That culturally different societies in Asia can or will develop in the same way does not logically follow. It might happen. There has yet to be evidence that it will happen.

It would seem logical, though, to think that China itself will industrialize in the way its offspring societies have done. Yet precisely because China is a great, ancient and self-sufficient civilization, it may not be able to do what the others have done, which has amounted to turning themselves inside out. These frontier states, simply because they have been vulnerable, less than totally self-sufficient, may have been able to change themselves in ways that the central civilization cannot imitate.

We shall see. It remains an open question. We are, in any case, talking in terms of decades, if not centuries; the success of the Pacific basin, if it comes, is not for tomorrow.

For now, the Pacific basin needs to be seen in realistic scale. The shift in trade of the United States to Asia is not in itself a decisive indicator, nor is it necessarily very healthy for the American economy. Food and raw materials are exported by the United States, and sophisticated consumer goods are imported that are competitive with what the United States itself

produces. One might call this the pattern of trade of a Third World nation, except that when a Third World nation imports machinery, computers, television sets, cars, there is no home-manufactured alternative.

The actual weight of the Far East economies is distorted by Japan. Japan is the second largest national economy in the world. Put Japan aside and the Pacific basin presents a less imposing picture.

China's GNP is much argued, the figures doubtful; but the CIA estimate for 1981, in 1980 dollars, is only slightly above the official figure for Britain's economy alone.

South Korea's economy, in 1982 figures, is slightly larger than Denmark's, about 70 percent that of Belgium, a quarter that of Canada.

Taiwan's economy, on the latest figures, is about 80 percent as large as Denmark's, a little bigger than that of Greece, smaller than Norway's.

The Singapore economy is as big as that of five Luxembourg.

All of them, plus Hong Kong, add up to an industrial production smaller than Spain's, competitive with Holland's, half that of Canada, about a quarter that of France.

On 1982 figures for gross domestic product, NATO Europe has an output worth more than \$3 trillion dollars — three times that of Japan, much more than twice that of all Asia, slightly larger than that of the United States itself. The European Community is the largest trading group in the world. The Pacific basin may provoke interesting thoughts about the future, but these should be taken for no more than that.

For the present, it is Europe that weighs in world economic scales.

International Herald Tribune.

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## A Civilization Has a Core Curriculum

By George F. Will

WASHINGTON — In 1940 a British officer on Dunkirk beach flashed to London a three-word message: "BUT IF NOT."

It was instantly recognized as a quotation from the Book of Daniel, where Nebuchadnezzar commands Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego to worship the golden image or be thrust into the fiery furnace. They say that their God "is able to deliver us from the burning fiery furnace, and He will deliver us out of thine hand, O King. But if not, be it known unto thee, O King, that we will not serve thy gods, nor worship the golden image."

The message from Dunkirk is stirring evidence of a community striving for cohesion from a common culture. Today many American universities do little to equip rising generations with a sense of being legatees of a shared and valuable civilization.

The process of neglect accelerated in the 1960s, with the celebration of "relevance" (meaning teaching relevant to the reconstruction of society along radical lines), and the belief that a university's purpose is not to put something into students but to let something out — "liberation" and "self-expression" and all that. But before the 1960s intellectuals had become, in Harold Rosenberg's phrase, "a herd of independent minds."

The herd embraced the notion that intellectuals should be an "adversary culture." This notion is part of the self-dramatization of persons who strive for importance by imagining that they are oppressed. If you believe, as novelist Stanley Elkins does, that Disneyland is "just like Auschwitz or Dachau," you can believe that

scholarship is a "struggle" against a disease called Western Civilization. To stay the dragons of "genderism" and "ethnocentrism," colleges encourage factional discipline, a kind of special-interest scholarship. First came "black studies." But when, in disregard of scholarly standards, any social group is made the basis of an academic discipline, the sluice gates of silliness are open.

Today there hovers over "women's studies" an aura of politics ("consciousness raising") and paranoia. "Women's studies," says a professional enthusiast, "empowers us to learn what we have never been taught and what, I suspect, they don't want us to know." (The euphemistic pronoun "they" encompasses the other sex.)

A leader in "feminist scholarship" says: "St. Augustine, Aristotle, Erasmus — these men return us to the monstrous misogyny of the past, which we must of course understand, but which, as the mainstay of the curriculum, is hardly sufficient."

She speaks for many when she says that "teaching is a political act." She does not just mean that ideas have consequences. She means that the proper ideas to teach are those congruent with a particular political agenda of social "transformation."

William Bennett, chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities, says that a humanities curriculum is often "an obscure interpretation of literature here, a skinny piece of somebody's history there, a dose of a few philosophical dilemmas

and conundrums, a dash of anthropological relativism . . ."

The 1983 Mount Holyoke College catalog says that all students must take one quarter that "offers exposure to a Third World perspective." The menu includes "Field Studies in the Black Community," "Sociocultural and the Blues," "Images of the Feminine in Indian Literature and Culture," "Black Women in America."

In 1982-83, every Amherst College freshman had to pick one course from a list that included "Food" (the course concerned "issues" about hunger, especially in the Third World) and "In Search of a Land Ethic" (wherein students "construct one or more ecological ethics").

Mr. Bennett says that such courses are a symptom of academics' "mesmerized by the moment. Students who have been introduced to the magnitude of the Renaissance or the drama of the U.S. Constitutional Convention are invited to explore the legacy of the sixties. Students who haven't studied Aristotle, Aquinas or Kant are urged to examine ethical dilemmas on their own."

As this century staggers to a close, note that at the turn of the century at Fisk University, the black school in Nashville, the freshman curriculum included Tacitus and Horace (in Latin) and Sophocles and the Bible (in Greek). By the end of another century of progress, millions of freshmen will have "constructed" millions of "ecological ethics," but the idea of a core curriculum will have vanished, and with it the civilization that such a curriculum should transmit.

The Washington Post.

## The Merger Fad Thrives On a Split Vision of Oil

By Daniel Yergin

CAMBRIDGE, Massachusetts — The billions of dollars that are changing hands as a result of the merger mania in the oil industry have stirred a considerable debate about the ills and non-ills of the acquisitions.

But the debate has missed the puzzle that is central to the entire takeover process — the gap between how the stock market values oil companies and how the players in the takeover struggles value them.

Why does Wall Street think Gulf is worth \$38 a share, while Standard of California is willing to pay \$80 a share — for a total of \$13.2 billion? The answer tells us what we might expect of the energy future.

The main reason for the difference is time horizons. Wall Street is, at the most, looking ahead only a couple of years, and what it sees is a substantial energy surplus. The shortages of the 1970s have been turned upside down to become the surpluses of the '80s.

Higher prices, conservation, recession, technological advance — all have worked together to call forth energy supplies considerably in excess of what the market now requires.

The surplus is most visible in oil. OPEC members are producing less than 17 million barrels a day, compared with 31 million in 1979. The surplus is so great that even the heating up of the Iran-Iraq war has barely affected prices, in striking contrast to what happened when the shah fell in 1979. There is a good deal more energy security today than in the 1970s.

Surplus dominates other energy supplies as well — natural gas, coal, electricity. One reason for the cancellation of nuclear power plants is that the demand for electricity that was anticipated when the plants were ordered has not materialized.

Thus the reserves of Gulf and the other oil companies are hardly worth the premium — especially with continuing discussion of possible further falls in oil prices in this market.

But take a longer perspective, say 10 to 15 years, and the picture looks

more like the 1970s again. By the '90s the surplus may have eroded, putting pressure again on supplies, with all the economic and political consequences that might follow.

In the late '70s there was much exuberance in America about the possibility of stabilizing or even increasing U.S. oil reserves. But results of the great drilling boom of 1978 to 1982 are now in and they have generally been disappointing, creating an increasing pessimism about the long-term U.S. reserve base.

This pessimism deserves to be called the "Mukluk syndrome," after a drilling site off the coast of Alaska. Great hopes and big dollars — \$1.7 billion — were invested in the Mukluk site, but late last year it proved to be the most expensive dry hole in history and has come to symbolize the mounting disappointment.

In contrast to the confidence of five years ago, the general view today, based on accumulated experience, is that it is going to be difficult and expensive to add significant new reserves and prevent further declines.

In the 1990s, oil production in the United States and the North Sea — two of the most politically secure areas — are likely to be in decline. That means that the industrial world will, even with further conservation, become relatively more dependent again on insecure sources of oil.

One will be the present cushion against turbulence. So companies positioning themselves for the 1990s are willing to pay a pretty premium for U.S. oil reserves, which are likely to be much more prized a decade from now than they are today.

The differing expectations of Wall Street and the oil companies make sense within their respective time frames, but as long as that gap in perceptions exists the drive toward mergers will continue.

The writer, head of Cambridge Energy Research Associates, contributed this article to The New York Times.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### An Image Problem

You and I know that President Reagan is not a frivolous person, but how to convince the world of this, when every photograph of the man shows him grinning from ear to ear, whatever the circumstances?

EMILY MARTIN, Bern.

### Cut Back Arms Funding

Why not replace all the disparate arms control commissions with a blue-ribbon committee to the Soviet Union proposing to cut 50 billion dollars/rubles from each country's defense budget this fiscal year, followed by 100 billion the next? Then we could pause for reflection.

GEORGE SZAKOWSKI, Le Chesnay, France.

### Farrakhan and Jackson

In response to several articles concerning the Reverend Jesse Jackson and to the letter from C.A. Pegues of Paris (April 14): The remarks of Louis Farrakhan are despicable, yet I understand his position. Milton Coleman is a traitor to African-Americans. I believe in Jesse Jackson.

for I understand the forces he is up against. Although he may be cut down, others will take his place.

K. WHITE, Coimbra, Portugal.

### De Gaulle's Dozen

The back page feature "France Giving a New Priority to Traffic" (April 30) was quite witty. But when Joseph Fritchett last reported, the Place de l'Etoile, eyes fixed to state board as recommended until this month, he should have noticed, in addition to the Champs Elysees, eleven — and not seven — main avenues feeding into it.



AMEX Most Active					
	Vol	High	Low	Close	Chg
GMCC	2841	15 1/8	14 1/2	14 3/4	—
Amstar	268	6 3/4	5 7/8	6	—
Dorner	1992	3	2 3/4	2 3/4	—
Webster	1517	27 1/2	26 1/2	26 1/2	—
PCRW	1334	19 1/2	17	17 1/2	+ 1/2
7/IE	1034	17	16 1/2	16 1/2	—
Tchwell	728	4 1/2	4 1/4	4 1/4	—
Toscon	73	11 1/4	10 3/4	10 3/4	+ 1/4
Granger	68	24 1/4	23 1/2	23 1/2	—
PCERO	344	14 1/2	14 1/4	14 1/4	+ 1/4

AMEX Stock Index			
High	Low	Close	Ch'ge
271.58	271.35	271.21	- 1.44

On the trading floor, Esmark, which soared 12% Thursday, was the most active NYSE-listed issue, off 1% to 56%. Esmark agreed to a \$2.4-billion cash merger with Kohlberg, Kravis & Roberts, the largest buyout of its kind in history.

International Harvester was the second most active issue, off ¼ to 7½ following a block of 2,399,900 shares at 7¼. AT&T was third, up ¼ to 16½.

Avon Products was the fourth most active issue, off 1 to 21½ following a block of 948,700 shares at 21.

Alcan Aluminum (ex-dividend) was fifth, off ½ to 28%. Reynolds Metals lost 1¼ to 30%. General Motors fell 1¼ to 64½. Ford 1 to 35½ and Chrysler 1¼ to 23¼. Some analysts think the auto boom has reached a peak.

Eastman Kodak, a 34-point winner the previous two sessions on higher earnings, rose ¼ to 66. Kodak plans to buy back some of its own shares.

Leading the high-technology issues, IBM (ex-dividend) lost 1¼ to 112¼, AMP 3 to 102, Texas Instruments 3½ to 143¼, Motorola 3 to 119¼, Honeywell 2½ to 55¼ and Digital Equipment 2¼ to 94.

Pioneer Corp. was active. The stock rose 2½ Thursday. Pioneer said it could not explain the activity but there was speculation Coastal Corp. or Pennzoil would make an offer.

MCA, which gained 3¼ Thursday, was lower. The company, which has been subject of takeover rumors recently, said it could not explain Thursday's activity.

[illegible]

## Blue Bell, a Jeans Maker, Discusses Employee Buyout for \$544 Million

Blue Bell purchased about 1.9 million shares, or 14.8 percent of the stock then outstanding, from the Bass Brothers in November for \$90.1 million. Under an option in that agreement, Blue Bell in late March bought the rest of the Bass stake, 1.1 million shares, for \$54.2 million.

Jeffrey Edelman, an analyst at Dean Witter, speculated that Ketsos and the company's employees were betting that as a private company they would be better positioned to revive the company.

"You can run a company differently without shareholders looking over your shoulder if you are not making short-term profits," he said.

Angelo-based merchant banker. Mattel's fortunes fell last year because of a glut on the video-game and home-computer markets. The company reported a loss of \$394 million for the year that ended Jan. 28, and negative net worth of \$136 million.

In recent months, Mattel has arranged the sale of every business it owns except the toy business on which it was founded.

"The plan does not contemplate any change in management, but there's likely to be a change on the board because the investor group

Drexel Burnham has agreed to buy \$110 million of senior subordinated notes carrying an interest rate of 14.75 percent and due in 1989. It will also buy \$62.5 million of a new series of 15.25-percent straight preferred stock and 7.8 million shares of common stock.

# Petro-Lewis Sells Oil, Gas to Exxon

*The Associated Press*  
NEW YORK — Exxon Corp.

has bought the equivalent of about 16 million barrels of oil and gas reserves from Petro-Lewis Corp. and a number of Petro-Lewis' lim-

Petro-Lewis has been trying to raise \$1 billion through the sale of property to reduce its financial

Exxon Co. U.S.A., the domestic arm of Exxon, said the new reserves are primarily oil

**By Raymond Bonner**  
*New York Times Service*  
**NEW YORK** — Miller Tabak Hirsch & Co., a New York securities firm that has been questioned about the possibility of manipulation of stock-index options, says it was engaged in "bona fide arbitrage activities" when it purchased

Heavy last-minute trading on the Chicago Board Options Exchange and the New York Stock Exchange on that day has led to informal investigations by the exchanges and by the Securities and Exchange Commission. Miller Tabak is one of several firms being investigated. The heavy purchases of stock

pushed up the Standard & Poor's 100 index so rapidly that large sums of money were made and lost in trading on S&P 100 index options in Chicago.

Jeffrey D. Miller, a partner at Miller Tabak, said Thursday that it was the "generally bearish senti-

ment in the options market" that resulted in the trading on April 19. He also said the firm had "cooperated with the exchanges" in their inquiries.

■ **Caldwell Defends Restraints**  
Ford's president, Philip Caldwell, said Friday that the record profits auto companies have made

Arguing that the restraint should be extended, he said automakers need to use the profits to offset the three bad years of 1980, 1981 and 1982 and to prepare for the cyclical downturn that inevitably will come.

Mr. Caldwell, who received \$7 million last year in salary, bonus and stock options, also defended the large bonuses and stock options

packages that Ford and other U.S. automakers have paid their top executives.

Below are supplied by the Funds listed with the prices are based on issue prices. The following frequency of quotations supplied for the IHT:

<b>PARIBAS-GROUP</b>	
00	(d) Caribea International
00	(w) OBLI-DM
00	(w) OBLIGATION
00	(w) OBLI-DOLLAR
00	(w) OBLI-YEN
00	(w) OBLI-GULDEN
00	(d) PAROIL-FUND
00	(d) PARINTER FUND

(+w)	RBC Far East&Pacific Fd.	\$ 10.52
(+w)	RBC Int'l Capital Fd.	\$ 17.51
(+w)	RBC Int'l Income Fd.	\$ 9.82
(+d)	RBC Man.Currency Fd.	\$ 21.29
(+w)	RBC North Amer. Fd.	\$ 7.77

**SWISS BANK CORP.**

(-d)	Americo Valor	SF 515.25
(-d)	D-Mark Bond Selection	DM 114.27
(-d)	Dollar Bond Selection	\$ 118.92
(-d)	Florian Bond Selection	FL 117.51

(d)	Intervol	SF 75.50
(d)	Japan Portfolio	SF 799.50
(d)	Swiss Foreign Bond Sel.	SF 185.25
(d)	Swissvalor New Ser.	SF 274.50
(d)	Univ. Bond Select	SF 74.50
(d)	Universal Fund	SF 103.14
<b>UNION BANK OF SWITZERLAND</b>		
(d)	Amco U.S. Sh.	SF 32.25
(d)	Bond-Invest	SF 62.75
(d)	Foran Swiss Sh.	SF 726.80

36	(d) Japan Invest.	SF 925.00
93	(d) South Africa, Sn.	SF 615.50
93	(d) Swiss R. Est.	SF 204.00
<b>UNION INVESTMENT Frankfurt</b>		
32	(d) Unifonds	DM 36.77
77	(d) Unifonds	DM 19.77
	(d) Unifond	DM 67.91
<b>Other Funds</b>		

30	(w) Actibonds Investments Fund.	\$ 20.85
30	(w) Alexander Fund.	\$ 14.30
35	(m) AI-MAL Trust, S.A.	\$ 141.60
35	(r) Arab Finance I.F.	\$ 817.51
35	(r) Arloma	\$ 1,481.04
30	(w) Trustcor Int'l Fd. (AEIF)	\$ 10.78
30	(d) BBL FONDS	BF 5.745
30	(w) BNP International Fund	\$ 100.67
30	(w) Bondselect-Issue Pr.	SF 129.35
30	(m) Canada Gtd-Mortgage Fd.	\$ 7.93

(a)	Capital Preserv. Fd. Inv.	\$10.58
(w)	Chadef Fund	\$1.97
(w)	Columbia Securities	FL 94.03
(w)	Cleveland Offshore Fd.	\$1,718.92
(b)	COMETE	\$1724.82
(w)	Compucom Currency	\$97.95
(d)	Cons. Banks Fund	\$1002.00
(w)	Convert. Fd. Int'l A Certs.	\$9.78
(w)	Convert. Fd. Int'l B Certs.	\$26.70
(w)	D.G.C.	\$64.83
(d)	D. Wither Wid Wide Inv. Trst.	\$10.84

7b)	Draohkar Invest Fund N.V.	\$ 926.58
7c)	Dreyfus Fund Int'l.	\$ 33.41
7d)	Dreyfus Intercontinental	\$ 29.97
7e)	East Investment Fund	\$ 400.96
7f)	Europe Obligations	LF 2,537.00
7g)	First Eagle Fund	\$ 11,521.32
7h)	Fifty Stars Ltd.	\$ 660.15
7i)	Finsbury Group Ltd.	\$ 101.00
7j)	Fonsech Issue Pr.	SF 191.05
7k)	Fonfund	\$ 8.60
7l)	Formula Selection Fd.	SF 81.73

1d	Fondifolia	\$ 21.18
1d	Frank-Trust Interzins	DM 40.78
1w	Hausmann Hfds. N.V.	\$ 938.83
1w	Hestia Funds	\$ 90.84
1w	Horizon Fund	\$ 1,052.53
1d	Interfund SA	\$ 11.83
1w	Intermarket Fund	\$ 328.35
1w	INT Currency Fund Ltd.	\$ 9.90
1d	I.Q. Growth	\$ 21.94

## MCI Says Prof

**OIT INVESTMENT FFM**  
 (—d) Concentration ..... D.M. 22.3  
 (—d) Int'l Renfand ..... D.M. 73.3

Dunn & Harpell & Lloyd George, Brussels  
 (—m) D & H Commodity Pool \$ 308.22  
 (—m) Currency & Gold Pool \$ 184.48

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 (—w) F&C Atlantic \$ 117.  
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(m)	American Values Common	\$ 64.
(m)	Amer. Values Com. Pref.	\$ 101.
(d)	Fidelity Amer. Assets	\$ 59.
(d)	Fidelity Australia Fund	\$ 124.
(d)	Fidelity Div. Svcs. Tr.	\$ 111.
(d)	Fidelity Far East Fund	\$ 41.
(d)	Fidelity Intl. Fund	\$ 54.
(d)	Fidelity Orient. Fund	\$ 33.
(d)	Fidelity Frontier Fund	\$ 11.
(d)	Fidelity Pacific Fund	\$ 15.
(d)	Fidelity Soc. Growth Fd.	\$ 34.

—(d) Fidelity World Fund.....\$29.25  
**FORBES PO 8887 GRANO CAYMAN**  
 London Agent 01-839-3013  
 —(w) Gold Income.....\$9.30  
 —(w) Gold Appreciation.....\$6.60  
 —(w) Dollar Income.....\$8.25  
**GLOBAL ASSET MANAGEMENT CORP.**  
 PB 119, St Peter Port, Guernsey, 0481-2871

shares, and the lender pays interest, currently about 9.5 percent, on the deposited money. The interest income is the trader's initial profit.

\$10.690	(b) Pri-Tech	\$ 87
\$10.690	(w) Quantum Fund N.V.	\$ 256
0	(d) Renta Fund	LF 25
\$ 1.3513	(d) Rentinvest	LF 10
\$ 1.9174	(d) Safe Trust Fund	\$
\$ 1.1584	(w) Samraal Portfolio	\$F 97
\$ 9.9365	(d) SCI/Tech, SA Luxembourg	\$ 11
\$ 22.50	(w) Scottish World Fund	\$ 10
	(w) Shore St. American	\$ 13
Ka	(w) Shore St. Bank Equity Hedges	\$ 3
\$ 44.64	(w) Shore St. Investment Fund	\$ 2

\$ 86.66	(w) Tokyo Pac. Hold. 13ea	\$ 161.00
\$ 29.55	(w) Tokyo Pac. Hold. N.V.	\$ 135.00
\$ 21.90	(w) Transpacific Fund	\$ 18.00
\$ 6.38	(d) Transpac Fund	\$ 10.00
\$ 6.97	(w) Tweedy, Browne n.v. Class A	\$ 1.79
	(w) Tweedy, Browne n.v. Class B	\$ 1.29
\$ 101.30	(d) UNICO Fund	DM 66.00
\$ 104.00	(d) UNI Bond Fund	\$ 1.65
\$ 309.00	(b) UNI Capital Fund	\$ 94.00
\$ 133.10	(w) Wedge Europe N.V.	\$ 5.00
	(w) Wedge Japan N.V.	\$ 2.00

\$ 97.82	(w)	Wedge Pacific N.V.	\$ 25.00
\$ 102.84	(w)	Wedge U.S.N.V.	\$ 4.00
\$ 707.00	(m)	Winchester Financial Ltd.	\$ 1.00
	(ml)	Winchester Diversified	\$ 20.00
	(w)	WorldInvest Inc.	\$ 1.14
	(w)	Worldwide Securities S/S 3 1/2	\$ 40.00
\$ 136.00	(w)	Worldwide Special S/S 2 1/4	\$ 1.48

Belgium Francs: FL — Dutch Florin: f.  
 Francs: a — asked; + — Offer Prices; b —

## POSITIONS

ment is seeking a

**E**...e/she will be responsible for  
as well as marketed product

degree in medicine, pharmacy  
English and experience in editing

experience etc., should

**CEION**

# GEIGY

analyst said would exceed all Moscow's cumulative profits to that point.

That was just the first step. Mr.

**CIBA-GEIGY**

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**ACROSS**

1 These may be bald  
6 Three, to Tomas  
10 A language in Bangkok  
13 Vivaciousness  
19 Explode  
20 What flatpots carry  
22 Stipend  
23 Venezuelan instruments?  
25 Inquiry into lost goods  
26 Worldwide workers' org.  
27 Hwy.  
28 Admission  
29 Liquefied ingradient  
30 Doral sight  
33 Certain wise men  
34 Table fowl  
36 Like certain sports  
37 Italian metal?  
40 Twilight  
43 Situation  
44 So  
45 Site of Honolulu  
46 Largest of the Truk Islands  
47 de mer  
48 Max, Buddy or Bugs

**DOWN**

1 Quaker tenet  
2 Legendary Greek heroine  
3 Doughnut-shaped  
4 Forner  
5 Dry, as champagne  
6 Toothsome  
7 Coleridge creation  
8 Period  
9 Yells  
10 Strategy  
11 At a distance  
12 —bity  
13 Part of i.e.

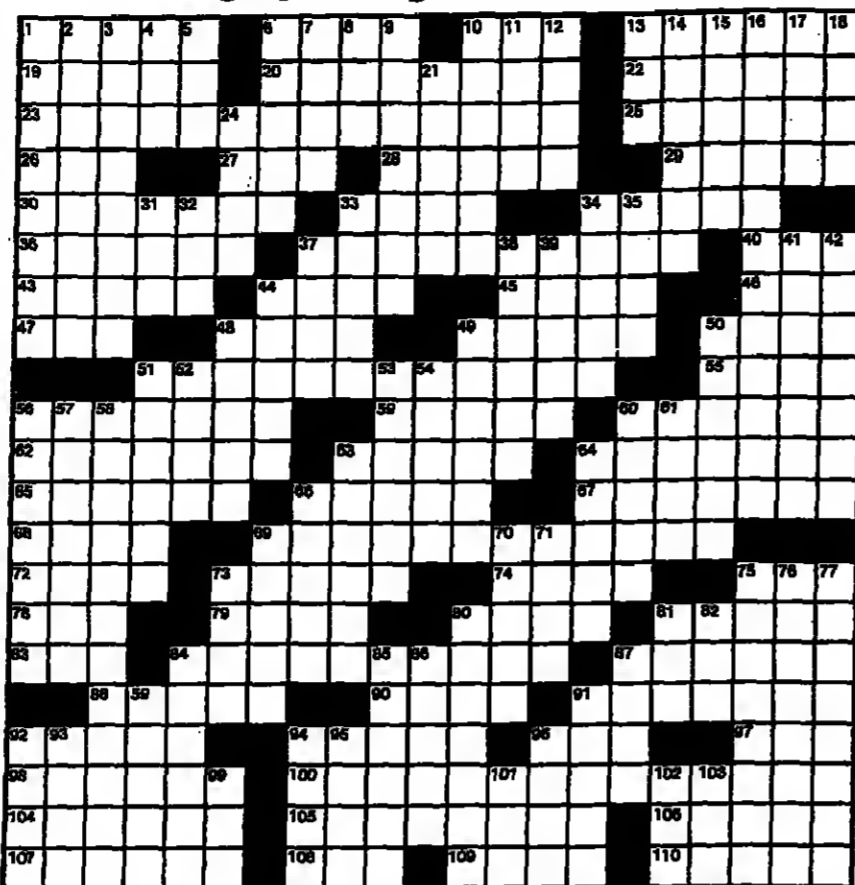
**ACROSS**

49 Austrian author Marie von Eschenbach  
50 Toteux capital  
51 South African headgear?  
55 Shaw  
56 Regimental commander  
59 Ellipses  
60 Xenophobe's fear  
62 Disposed to love  
63 Jar for oil, etc.  
64 Mercury or Mars, in Marseille  
65 Scold  
66 Ancient Greek council  
67 Brought into agreement  
68 Shake (high-tail)  
69 Southwestern panoply  
72 —ye better rock the —  
73 Drug fighting infections  
74 In a skillful way  
75 Concorde  
76 W. W. II post for Ike

**DOWN**

37 S.A. ostrich  
38 Limp  
39 Hindu princes  
41 With light rapidity, in music  
42 Slipped by, as time  
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45 Judicial writ  
46 Sandrac tree  
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48 Misfortune  
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916 Misfortune  
917 Grieve  
918 Comedian  
919 Myron  
920 Sino-Russian border river  
921 S.A. ostrich  
922 Limp  
923 Hindu princes  
924 With light rapidity, in music  
925 Slipped by, as time  
926 Board  
927 Judicial writ  
928 Sandrac tree  
929 Decoy  
930 Misfortune  
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980 With light rapidity, in music  
981 Slipped by, as time  
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983 Judicial writ  
984 Sandrac tree  
985 Decoy  
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987 Grieve  
988 Comedian  
989 Myron  
990 Sino-Russian border river  
991 S.A. ostrich  
992 Limp  
993 Hindu princes  
994 With light rapidity, in music  
995 Slipped by, as time  
996 Board  
997 Judicial writ  
998 Sandrac tree  
999 Decoy  
1000 Misfortune

## Geographic Jingles By Beverly Tivin



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**DOWN**

54 Palate part  
56 Nightclub  
57 French dishes  
58 Texas beefsteak?  
60 Relieve  
61 Secular  
63 Grant's first Vice President  
64 Adjective for buddies  
66 Actress Ina  
69 Spanish coins

**DOWN**

70 Hyde and Regent's  
71 Vigoda et al.  
73 Team for Indira  
75 Banner  
76 An ester used in ointments  
77 "Idylls of the King" poet  
80 Without protection  
81 Staff

**DOWN**

82 Bonsai or origami  
84 Ornamental pin  
85 To this place  
86 One of Pan's companions  
87 Theads of silents  
89 Put off  
91 Miami's super receiver  
92 Schism

**DOWN**

93 —about (time-setting phrase)  
94 Rudiments  
95 Subway token  
96 Verb suffix  
98 Legal matter  
101 Chemical ending  
102 Emulate  
103 Stir

## GOD'S BANKER

By Rupert Cornwell. 260 pp. Illustrated. \$15.95.  
Dodd, Mead & Co., 79 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y., 10016.

Reviewed by Clyde H. Farnsworth

ON the night of June 17, 1982, Roberto Calvi, who had been Italy's most powerful private banker, found himself in an anonymous apartment in the barracks-like Chelsea Cloisters, near Loo-doo's Sloane Square. At 7:30 the next morning, a clerk on his way to work in the London financial district noticed a corpse dangling from the iron scaffolding on the north side of Blackfriars Bridge, which crosses the Thames five miles from Chelsea. Roberto Calvi's body was suspended from a nylon rope, fastened at the neck by a simple noose, and to the scaffolding by two half-inch knots.

Calvi's Banco Ambrosiano, often called the "priests' bank" because of its connections with the Roman Catholic Church, was buckling under the weight of \$1.3 billion of uncollectable loans. Much of the money had gone to shell companies in Panama and Liechtenstein, to exotic banks in nice places, such as the Cisalpino Overseas Bank of Nassau, and to perhaps the most secretive financial institution in the world, inconspicuously named the Institute for Religious Works — owned by the Vatican and founded in 1942 by Pope Pius XII to manage the

## BOOKS

Roman Catholic Church's cash, shares and property.

What happened to that money, writes Rupert Cornwell in this book of unbloody alliances, Machiavellian skulduggery, financial intrigue and pure mayhem, "constituted perhaps the greatest financial mystery of the early 1980s." Some of it may have been channeled into Italian political parties, some into activities of P-2, a secret Freemasons' lodge of high-level right-wing conspirators, some into arms smuggling, drug dealers, the Mafia — you name it.

Cornwell, even after his extensive detective work as a Rome-based reporter for The Financial Times, admits that not very many things are yet clear about the biggest and most sinister Italian banking scandal of the postwar years. "This book is an effort to provide a reconstruction that is at least understandable," he says in a disarming introduction. "Inevitably, however, I will have made errors. I apologize for them in advance."

One of the few things that is clear is that in the last days of his life, Calvi — a shy, cultivated man who from an aerie near La Scala opera house directed financial plunder on three continents — was no longer in command of his destiny. The

plunder had become the plundered; the master the slave. Cornwell portrays "God's banker" at this penultimate stage of his life as a broken man almost to be pitied, obsessed by the wickedness of his enemies, anxious about his daughter, Anna, and whether she had enough money to fly to New York. "Now it's almost the order of the day to attack me," the 62-year-old financier said in despair during an interview with La Stampa just before he disappeared from Italy. "And in this sort of atmosphere, any barbarity is possible."

Cornwell doesn't adduce any new evidence, but he presents a fairly strong circumstantial case that Calvi was murdered. He had, for example, more than enough barbiturates in his room to kill himself, the author notes. And Calvi suffered from vertigo, which would have made it difficult for him to clamber over the parapet of the Thames embankment to get to that scaffolding to hang himself.

The author, who is the half brother of the spy novelist John le Carré, suggests in the rich traditions of English suspense fiction that it may have been a ritual murder. "Were there not 'sacred' trappings to his death — the stones in the pocket, the choice of the bridge of Blackfriars (also, of course, the name of a British lodge), the washing of Calvi's feet by the river tide?" Cornwell writes.

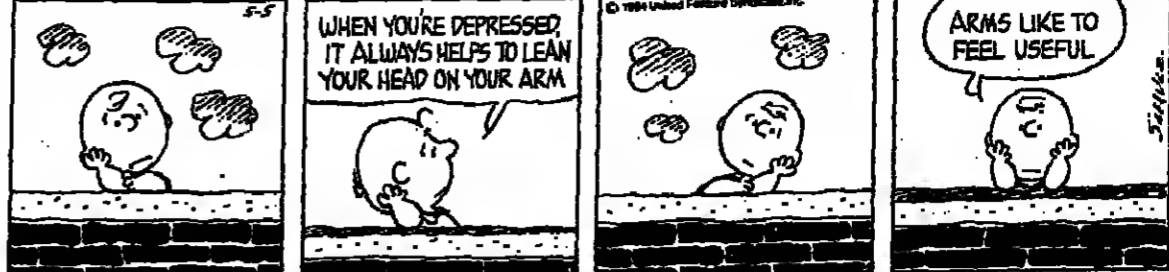
Cornwell has done a skillful job in collecting the data about Calvi, Archbishop Paul Casimir Marini, the fabled Chicagoan who heads the Vatican bank, and others in the jungle of Milan's financial district. The book is put together, however, a bit too much like a jumble, with too much growth, too much information, too many characters, just too much detail.

When Cornwell steps back into the clearing, the book can be rewarding. "Ambrosiano was the ultimate example of what could go wrong with the system at large," he writes. "It was a mutant child of an imperfect financial structure, of the political parties' unquenchable thirst for money, of the secret ramifications and connivances of a distorted state."

The theme of the book is taken from Euclid's Greek philosopher of the fourth century B.C. who had written: "Epimenides the Cretan said: All Cretans are liars. Was he telling the truth or a lie?"

Clyde H. Farnsworth is on the staff of The New York Times.

## PEANUTS



## BLONDIE



## BEETLE BAILEY



## ANDY CAPP



## WIZARD OF ID



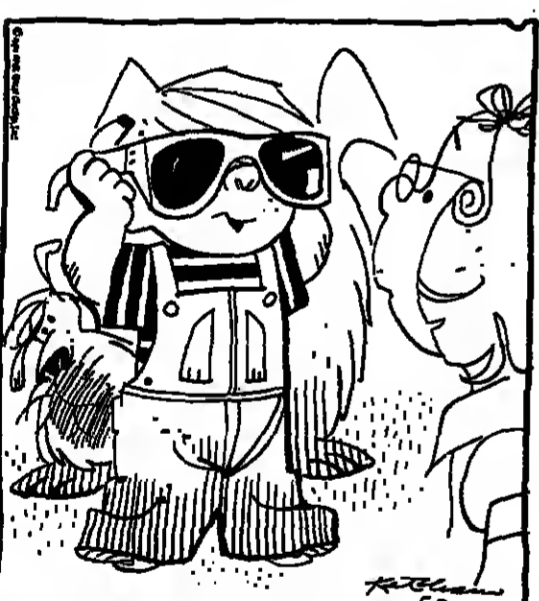
## REX MORGAN



## GARFIELD



## DENNIS THE MENACE



"THEY KEEP PEOPLE FROM LOOKIN' IN."

## WEATHER

EUROPE			ASIA		
C	HIGH	LOW	C	HIGH	LOW
21	70	18	5	63	29
22	70	18	5	63	29
23	70	18	5	63	29
24	70	18	5	63	29
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26	70	18	5	63	29
27	70	18	5	63	29
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95	70	18	5	63	29
96	70	18	5	63	29
97	70	18	5	63	29
98	70	18	5	63	29
99	70	18	5	63	29
100	70	18	5	63	29

AFRICA			LATIN AMERICA		
C	HIGH	LOW	C	HIGH	LOW
1	15	82	1	21	81
2	15	82	2	21	81
3	15	82	3	21	81
4	15	82	4	21	81
5	15	82	5	21	81
6	15	82	6	21	81
7	15	82	7	21	81
8	15	82	8	21	81
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97	15	82	97	21	81
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99	15	82	99	21	81
100	15	82	100	21	81

NORTH AMERICA		
C	HIGH	LOW
1	48	3
2	48	3
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100	48	3

MIDDLE EAST		
C	HIGH	LOW
1	17	3
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9	17	3
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## ART BUCHWALD

## Staffing the White House

WASHINGTON—According to former Secretary of State Al Haig, he had tremendous problems in his job, not with the president, but with the palace guard in the White House that surrounded Mr. Reagan, and protected him from "outsiders" such as Cabinet officers and the like.

I don't know why General Haig was surprised by this. When he worked in the White House, President Nixon he did exactly the same thing.

The truth of the matter is that the United States is not run by the president, but by a closely knit staff, all unelected and none having to answer to anyone but the man who sits in the Oval Office.

Where does the president recruit his "team"? Usually from his campaign staff.

I was talking to one of the presidential candidate's baggage handlers the other day. He was perspiring and puffing as he kept putting luggage on a cart.

"You work awfully hard," I said. "What do you hope to get out of it?"

"If I don't get a hernia, I'd like to be in the White House national security adviser."

"That's a big job," I said.

"Well, you don't think I'm doing this for my health do you? Actually I'd like to be put in charge of all domestic affairs for the president but that slot has already been spo-

ken for by Harry Silver, the candidate's advance man in Bethesda, Maryland."

"I would think with your experience in handling luggage you would want to be secretary of transportation."

"The power's in the White House," he said, loading a loudspeaker system on the cart. "Besides, Mary's been promised transportation."

"Who's Mary?"

"She keeps track of the candidate's travel expenses. No one gets a voucher without first clearing it with Mary."

"If you don't get national security adviser, what about becoming the president's legal adviser?"

"The candidate wants someone in that office with more law experience. He's indicated, if he is elected, he'd give it to a paralegal who is in charge of seeing the press always has fresh coffee on the bus."

"Appointment secretary is a key position in the White House. Everyone has to come to you before they get to see the president."

Allen Taylor has it lined up.

"Who's Allen Taylor?"

"He's in charge of stuffing envelopes in our Dallas headquarters. They say he's the best worker in the mail room."

"What about White House director of communications?"

"Ramey Harper, who works the mimeograph machine on the candidate's plane, will probably get it. He understands the press a lot more than I do."

"I had a shot at it, but then I lost the candidate's wife's luggage in Louisville, Kentucky, and she's been mad at me ever since. So I imagine the candidate will give me something where I won't have to deal with her directly."

He finished loading the cart, and started to count the bags to make sure everything was on before he pushed it towards the plane.

"Suppose you don't get the job you want in the White House? You will have put all this time in for nothing."

"Maybe, maybe not. Nobody on the candidate's staff has spoken up yet for director of the CIA."



Buchwald

## Recording Daytime Soaps

The Associated Press

NEW YORK—Daytime soap operas seem to be the programs too important to miss, with afternoon serials occupying the first six places among shows taped on home video cassette recorders, an A. C. Nielsen Co. study says. ABC's "All My Children" was the most recorded show, while NBC's "Hill Street Blues," in seventh place, was first among prime-time programs. The study, which was released to Nielsen clients this week, surveyed 1,000 VCR owners in November-December 1983 and January 1984.

## An Early Ride on Count Basie's Bandwagon

By Leonard Feather

Los Angeles Times Service

LOS ANGELES—The facile cliché to which too many writers resort when we lose someone of Count Basie's stature is that his death marks the end of an era.

It simply is not true. The era Bill Basie and his band represented came to an end around 1950, when orchestral jazz in general began falling apart. Basie, like Woody Herman and a handful of others, was simply a survivor, ignoring the rock invasion and all the other potentially fatal blows.

The cliché is false in a second sense: Basie's band almost certainly will outlive him.

My recollections of Basie go back almost as far as the band's life. Tagging along for a few days with Louis Armstrong's band, I reached Kansas City on a humid summer night in 1936.

After I had caught Satchmo's 98, he said, "Hey, Feather, let's go listen to some music. There's a place called the Reno Club, with a band you gotta hear."

We repaired to an all-night joint where the pay was \$15 a week for the sidemen and \$18 for the leader (Basie earned a little extra as organist on a local radio station).

Basie and his band, only three of whose members would stay on to ride to fame with him (Lester Young and Jack Washington on sax, Walter Page on bass) were crammed together uncomfortably in a crude band shell with peeling paint.

To the London Melody Maker, Oct. 3, 1936, I observed that "the band works hard and deserves real recognition. It is astonishing what places one has to visit in the quest for the best in swing music."

Fortunately, John Hammond had heard the band just a few weeks earlier. He helped Basie to enlarge the band, found him a manager, Willard Alexander (who was still handling him up to the end), and bookings were arranged for Chicago and New York.

The Chicago date at the Grand Terrace Ballroom was a fiasco. Basie told me: "They had us playing the 'Poet and Peasant Overture' as our big show number. The band just didn't make it; nothing

in the show gave us a real chance to display ourselves properly."

Freddie Green, the world's greatest rhythm guitarist, joined the band in March 1937, and was still there when the final chord rang out in 1984.

Basie in those days was playing two-fisted, hard-driving, Fats Waller-inspired piano, a far cry from the elliptical simplicity to which he would strip down in later years. He had the best and loosest rhythm section in the world; it didn't just swing, it floated. Jimmy Rushing brought vocal authority when he sang the blues ("Boogie Woogie" or nonsense songs like "Boo Hoo"). Lester Young became the most talked-about tenor sax since Coleman Hawkins, who was then expatriated in Europe.

The true marvel of the Basie band's mystique lay in its ability to dream up head arrangements—those incredible collections of spontaneously devised riffs and counter-riffs and solos that made for the most irresistibly disorganized organization in jazz history.

"Que O'Clock Jump" was nothing more than a head arrangement, a blues that modulated from F to D flat. "Dickie's Dream," "Red Bank Boogie," "Every Tub," "Out the Window," "Five at Five" (based on a riff by the trumpeter Harry (Sweets) Edison) were all heads. So was "Jumpin' at the Woodside," which has special significance, since it was named after the Harlem hotel where the band often stayed, using its basement for rehearsals.

By 1940, the band's enormous popularity and heavy workload necessitated the use of many writers. From listening to Basie, Benny Carter and others, I had learned the rudiments of writing.

With the help of a friend who knew more than I about correct voicing of the horns, I struggled through an arrangement.

After catching Jimmie Lunceford's uniquely disciplined and inspired band at the Apollo Theatre, I dropped in at the Woodside and found myself awed by the company of older men, all my idols; established arrangers like Don Redman, Jimmy Moody,



Count Basie: His father was "well pleased."

Buster Harding. All were waiting to have their charts played.

After what seemed like an eternity, Basie said, "OK, Leonard, let's try yours." Mine was a blues with a chorus in 12/8 time, the key of D minor. The band ran it down. Basie turned to me with an approving nod, authorized his manager to pay me \$50 (I would gladly have accepted a dime), and the following Tuesday, at the Columbia studios, the band recorded it. The title was "My Wandering Man," and so fearful was I of negative reviews by other critics that I hid under a pseudonym.

Basie's kindness in even looking at my music was indicative of the man. Generous, gentle, loving, he was the ideal leader. He could be a disciplinarian when circumstances called for it, but his general attitude was more like that of a sideman, sharing in the common pleasure of making a very special brand of jazz. There was never a competitive bone in his body. To a great extent, fame was thrust upon him.

In the old days, the bands might play a single location for weeks, even months on end. For at least three months in 1938 his men were squeezed into the Famous Door, one of those shoebox clubs along 52d Street in New York, where they stayed there for the valuable network radio exposure the room afforded.

The story, widely printed after his death, that "Basie went to a small group after World War II" was misleading. He kept the juggernaut together clear through the 1940s, leading a seven-piece group only briefly in 1950-51, then re-forming the band with the aid of straw boss Marshall Royal, the saxophonist, who stayed with him 20 years.

My mind is flooded with special memories. One, oddly, is of that interim small band, with a superb front line of Clark Terry on trumpet, Wardell Gray on tenor and Buddy De Franco on clarinet.

Then there was the banquet celebrating the band's 20th anniversary. Held at the Waldorf, it was attended by old friends and alumni, with sentimental speech-making galore. The shortest and most

touching was made by Harvey Basie, the maestro's father. I remember the last sentence: "He is my son, with whom I am well pleased."

The first time Joe Williams sang with the band at New York's Birdland was another night to remember. More than any other contributor, Williams put the band back up in the top echelon with "Every Day" and all the other blues hits. There were many replacements after he left in 1961, but to Basie he remained "my No. 1 son," with whom there were frequent reunions.

The 1970s brought very special pleasures as the band played Caribbean cruises almost annually.

The list of men who passed through the ranks is too long to tackle. Think of the tenor players alone: Lester Young, Herschel Evans, Buddy Tate, Don Byas, Illinois Jacquet, Lucky Thompson, Frank Foster, Frank Wes, Paul Gonsalves, Paul Quinichette, Eddie (Lockjaw) Davis, Eric Dixon, Billy Mitchell, Budd Johnson, and on and on. Multiply this by the trumpeters and trombonists and all the others and you have an ongoing college of jazz education.

Think, too, of all the precedents: first American band ever to play a royal command performance for the queen, first big black band to work the Waldorf-Astoria, and who knows how many other breakthroughs.

Despite all the racism he had to contend with, Basie always saw beyond color. As early as 1950, his band was integrated with the likes of De Franco, George Auld, Serge Chaloff, Paul Cohen and many more. In 1953, the trombone section included Johnny Mandel.

Basie kept his private life very private. Reference was rarely made to the tragedy of the Basie's retarded daughter, Diane, now 32. Bill adored her. Kathy and Bill lavished the same affection on their two adopted sons.

Catherine Basie, his wife for more than 40 years, was a former dancer and singer, attractive and vivacious, a good businesswoman who managed Count Basie Enterprises. Her death last April was a crushing blow. From that point on, more than ever, the bandstand was his one true home.

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